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CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Sylvia Dayton

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Ideology of Native Education Policy

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* M.A.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DEGRÉ* 1976

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

IDEOLOGY OF NATIVE EDUCATION POLICY

by

© SYLVIA DAYTON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Ideology of Native Education Policy" submitted by Sylvia Dayton in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Regna Darnell
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Date June 29, 1976

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with thanks to the following people who helped me to survive the intellectual doldrums:

G. Hoffman

S. Ingram

P. Monks

G. Siperko

ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this thesis to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational system available to Indian children and adults, through discussion of the underlying premises of the educational system. It is postulated that the premises can be derived from an analysis of Indian policy pertaining to education. It is further postulated that the premises represent the operation of a group ideology. Group ideologies will be defined and their porcesses outlined in order to obtain possible implications for the future of Native education programs, and ultimately for the socio-economic conditions in which Indian peoples live. It is hoped as well that a clear theory of group ideologies will be presented which could be utilized as a hueristic devise in other contexts and with other problems.

The thesis concludes that the group ideology held by the makers of federal Indian policy in Canada is still operating as it has for many years. It is concluded, as well, that in order for this group ideology of Native education to be significantly altered or replaced, pressure must come from outside of the body holding the ideology. The most outstanding force for such change is currently the Indian organizations which, to effect this change, must gain economic and political power. Through the organizational activities of these organizations, stress is being placed upon the premises of the system, but this pressure is, to date, not adequate to force change in either the group ideology or the derivative education policy. The group ideology is able to make accommodations which do not threaten its fundamental principles.

PREFACE

Before beginning the formal portion of this thesis, I would like to make a few comments by way of background and introduction to the problem. When writing a thesis it is often difficult to be aware of what is obvious and what is not. That is, many things are assumed by the author that are not necessarily assumed by the reader. So ... how in the world did I decide to write this thesis and what really is it all about?

Back in 1970, as a first year graduate student, I did a reading course in the area of the anthropology of education. The specific topic was the assumptions of educational planning theories as they relate to conditions of underdevelopment. I was basically interested in the underlying premises of these approaches to underdevelopment and change, and wanted to throw some light upon what I considered to be a basic flaw in educational planning that emerges through an analysis of the premises. This approach to the problems in education led me to consider the North American educational system generally. It seemed to me that efforts to mend the cracks were really missing the forest for the trees. This thought seemed to be particularly accurate when looking at the education available to ethnic groups in the United States and Canada. Hence, my problem area: educational programs established for Indian children in Canada.

As an anthropology student I bring to this problem the approaches and philosophy of anthropology, two of which are of immediate interest. Basic to anthropology as a discipline are the concepts of evolution and holism. Anthropology seeks to understand developmental change, taking both a diachronic and a synchronic approach to its problems.

Thus, although I am dealing with a concept, group ideologies, which seeks stability, the system is not closed. I assume that one of the constants of social systems is change. To me there is no such thing as a fully stable social, political, economic, or ideological system. Although the model I present in the thesis strives toward conservatism, it is not intended to be static.

Secondly, anthropology is a holistic discipline. Anthropologists are more interested in the relation of parts than to the specific nature of those parts individually. I am, similarly, interested within this thesis in the relation between group ideologies and the socio-economic environment in which they are operating. I am postulating that people do not think in a vacuum; there is an interactional process between the thinker and the environment. To relate this idea more specifically to my thesis topic, I am postulating that meaningful change in the educational systems available to Indian children cannot occur without change in the institutions (social, political, economic, ideological) impinging upon the educational system.

This brings to another point, or rather to a question that has been posed to me: "Does what you say hold only for Indian peoples or does it hold for education generally?". The answer is of the typical "yes-no" type. The statements which I wish to make about ideology could have been handled from an education-wide perspective, in that the educational experience and system of Indian children has commonalities with the experience and system of non-Indian children. I feel, however, that Native people in Canada have a history and a reality which is not fully shared by non-Indian Canadians. As a result a more specific treatment is warranted, and more specific results are obtained. This does not mean that concepts within this thesis are inapplicable to education broadly speaking.

A similar statement could, and should, be made about the relationship between class and my theoretical approach. The problem I am raising is, in many ways, a class problem. Why not deal with it by way of a class analysis? This is certainly a possible, and profitable, way of handling the problem. I am not, nonetheless, attempting to make any theoretical statements about the concept of class, but about ideological systems, intertwined as these concepts are. In the original draft of the thesis I had several sections dealing with class, but found that they muddled the argument significantly. Although it was hard to do, I pulled the sections out entirely, and they do not appear even in an appendix. Perhaps the relation between class and ideology is a topic unto itself, and should be so treated.

It is my hope that the above has provided some insight into what this thesis is all about, and that these broad comments will be kept in mind when getting into the detail of the thesis. I also hope that this material will be of some benefit to someone, somewhere along the line.

July 16, 1976

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to officially thank my thesis committee for their help in the production of this thesis. It goes without saying that without their help this work would neven have been completed. Many thanks to

David Bai: who helped to get things started

Regna Darnell: who helped to keep things going

Marilyn Assheton-Smith: who helped to finish things up

Many thanks as well to Annette Duben for her invaluable production assistance.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is not doubt that Indian people form the most poverty stricken group in Canadian society today. This poverty is isolated, abject, and all pervasive for many Native people. (Harding 1971: 240 & 241, Adams 1971: 27 & 28, and Nagler 1972: 131 & 134-35)

Coupled with this omnipresent poverty is a high failure rate for Indian children in the school systems as compared to non-Indian children. Indian children repeat grades, as many as three times; it has been estimated that only a quarter of the Indian and Metis population attains a sixth grade education; and similarly in 1968-69 only 6,834 Indian children attended high school out of a population of 247,000 (Hawthorn 1966, vol. 2: 131, Harding 1971: 241, DIAND 1970 R32-2670: 28-30).

There are numerous theories as to why these conditions exist, how they developed, and what the possibilities for change in the future are. Paramount in some theories of change (See for example Porter 1965) is the role of education. Education is seen as the key for the development of the attitudes and skills necessary to bring about change in the life-style of individuals and groups of Indian people, yet, particularly since the publication of the Hawthorn Report in 1966, it is now being recognized that education is not ushering forth the prophesied social and economic changes.

Traditional analysis of the inadequacy of present educational systems[1] to meet the needs of Native people has centered around the examination of components within the educational system which may not be working up to par, which may be misdirected, or which may have other reasons for being dysfunctional. Programs to remedy these weaknesses often involve curriculum development, teacher training, language development, vocational training, or integration of Indian children into mainstream educational institutions.

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[1] It should be noted that the concept of "education system(s)" presented in this thesis refers to what may, perhaps, be more aptly described as schooling. This statement means that the entire

In themselves, such programs may be of distinct benefit to involved schools and/or children, but they will still fail to answer the basic question of "Why?". Why the isolation, why the poverty, why the high failure rate. With these basic questions remaining unanswered it is difficult, if not impossible, to begin seeking solutions to such problems.

It would appear that an appropriate step might be to move away from the specifics of the educational system in question and to move toward the system itself. An analysis of this system and its relation to other systems within the society could well lead to concrete, constructive alternatives to the present focus of change within educational structure.

Definition of the Problem

It is the purpose of this thesis to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational systems available to status[2]. Indian children and adults, through discussion of the under-

---

process of socialization and acculturation of the child is not assumed by the concept. What is included is the formal schooling system developed and provided under church, federal, or provincial auspices.

lying premises of that system. It is postulated that the premises can be derived from an analysis of Federal Indian policy pertaining to the education of Native peoples. It is further postulated that the premises represent the operation of a group ideology, as defined in this work. Group ideologies will be defined and their processes outlined in order to obtain possible implications for the future of Native education programs, and ultimately for the socio-economic conditions in which Indian peoples live. It is hoped, as well, that a clear theory of group ideologies will be presented which could be utilized as a hueristic devise in other contexts and with other problems.

The audience of this thesis is not intended to be Indian people who have an increasing awareness, both objective and subjective, of what is happening to their children in school. The thesis is intended, rather, to reach policy makers and educationalists who all to frequently miss the proverbial forest for the trees. The insights contained here are not new, but perhaps the ideological approach will provide a different model from which to analyze and interpret data, and will, therefore, stimulate a re-seeing and re-thinking of what, to many, is the obvious -- Indian educational systems have failed to alter significantly the status quo, and will continue to fail to do so if the traditional approaches to change are stressed over fundamental socio-economic change.

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[2] With the British North America Act, under Head 24 of Section 93, Indian people and their lands became the specific legislative responsibility of the Federal Parliament. Unless otherwise stated, the Native people discussed in this thesis are status Indians, having legal status under Canadian law. Similarly, the Indian policy referred to is the federal policy relating to status peoples.

Theoretical Position

The theoretical position of this thesis is holistic, stemming from the basic concepts of the anthropological discipline. Its intent is to establish and compare broad units, or institutions, within a specific society, as the interrelations of these institutions, rather than the institutions themselves, are of primary importance. The definition of a group ideology that is utilized in the thesis was developed with this holistic approach in mind.

A group ideology is here defined as an internally consistent, self-sufficient way of viewing the world by specific groups of people in a society. Any group in a society can hold such an ideology, from a labor organization, a professional group, to a collection of groups with similar economic or social interests. In fact, the society as a whole could be said to hold a group ideology in relation to other societies.

The basic characteristics of a group ideology will be outlined, and the processes inherent in these characteristics will be examined in light of policy statements pertaining to Indian education programs made by the federal government. These policy statements are seen as formal presentations of thoughts about a subject or subjects, as expressions of principles or beliefs upon which future action is based. The specific group ideology under discussion will be identified through the analysis of policy statements developed by the federal government. Again, clarification of the nature and development of the group ideology at issue should provide insight into why Native education programs developed as they did, why they operate as they do, and possible directions Indian education may take in the future.

Format

As discussed above, Chapter II (Theoretical Considerations: The Nature of Group Ideology and its Relation to Policy Formation) defines group ideologies, describes their characteristics, and analysizes the relationship between policy statements and group ideologies, and the human mind. This latter discussion serves as the theoretical basis for the methodology employed to derive the material contained in Chapter V (Education Ideology).

Chapter III (The Historical Period) establishes the historical and economic conditions in which Indian educational policy was developed, and traces the development of policy. The time period has been divided into four sections:

1. Initial Contact to 1793: Economic Contact
2. 1763-1830: Military Contact
3. 1830-1867: Civilian Take-over
4. 1867-1900: Post Confederation Era

These divisions represent changes in the emphasis of Indian-White relations, and, consequently, indicate the direction followed in policy development. The trend indicated is a movement away from economic equality for Native and White society toward a state in which Indian people have been stripped of their productivity and participation in society. This movement is closely reflected in the emerging Indian policy, which becomes highly paternalistic, impersonal and bureaucratic.

Chapter IV (The Contemporary Period) fills in the period from 1900 to the present and contains a discussion of the nature of socio-economic conditions of both Indian peoples and policy makers. What emerges is a picture of extremes. That is, as a socio-economic group the Canadian Native population forms the bottom of the hierarchy, or perhaps more aptly, the smallest piece in the Canadian "Cultural Mosaic". In contrast, those who develop Indian educational policy earn good livings as top civil servants or elected officials. (For example, the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development receives a basic allowance of $26,000 per year plus $6,000. This figure does not, of course, include any income earned through investment or other business activity.)

What is significant about the socio-economic gap between the makers of Indian policy and Indians themselves is the resulting gap in power.[3] Indian people participate little in the formulation of basic concepts, policies, and regulations which affect their daily living. These key decisions are made -- largely in a vacuum -- by bodies and people removed from the conditions and problems surrounding life as a Canadian Indian.

This power gap developed through the historic process of economic interaction between Native and White society, and is only now beginning to be seriously questioned or challenged through the intensification and visibility of Indian movements across Canada. At present the burgeoning and often stagnating Indian organizations represent the factor most likely to alter the pattern of Indian-White relations in Canada. Reflections on the implications and possible success of the Indian movements to change basic living conditions among Native peoples will be discussed in the concluding chapter (Chapter VI: Conclusion).

The nature of the group ideology pertaining to the education of Indian peoples, or the educational ideology, is outlined in Chapter V (Educational Ideology). The information obtained in this chapter was obtained through a review of the available federal documents pertaining to Indians and Indian education systems. Consistently reappearing themes or ideas were pulled out and codified into a system of premises, reflecting an interpretation of the official view of the nature of man and society, of Indians, "Indian problems", and Indian educational needs.

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[3] The concept of power will be expanded in Chapter IV.

Chapter V, presents the specifics of one group ideology -- that dealing with Native people and their education -- in action. Its premises are delineated and classified to provide the basis for conclusions about group ideologies and Native education programs.

A final summation and conclusion are found in Chapter VI (Conclusions). The basic points made are that a group ideology, as defined in this thesis, is in operation in the area of Indian educational policy; that because a group ideology is functioning, any fundamental change must be founded upon changes in the socio-economic relationship between policy makers and Indian peoples; and that these changes must be pushed by those outside of the policy maker group.

Summary

To reiterate, it is the purpose of this thesis to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational system available to Status Indian peoples. The approach is systemic and theoretical, being founded on an analysis of policy from the framework of a group ideology. Group ideologies are defined and discussed in an effort to clarify processes which are in operation in Native educational policy.

To further clarify the nature of educational policy today, its development is traced via a discussion of the historical and economic conditions. Upon this foundation an analysis of policy itself is grounded, and from this analysis implications for the future of Native education are drawn.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: THE NATURE OF GROUP IDEOLOGY AND ITS RELATION TO POLICY FORMATION

Introduction

As stated in Chapter I, it is the purpose of this thesis to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational system available to Native peoples. The approach is systemic and theoretical, being founded on an analysis of policy from the framework of a group ideology. The objective of Chapter II is to provide the theoretical basis for the thesis, by defining group ideologies, describing their characteristics, and analyizing the relationship between policy statements and group ideologies. The concepts presented in this chapter will be used throughout the thesis in data oriented as well as implication oriented segments.

The chapter is divided into three sections:

1. The Nature of Group Ideology
2. Policy and Group Ideology
3. Summary

The first segment deals with the definition of group ideologies used in the thesis, emphasizing the difference between "particular" and "total" conceptions of the term. It also covers the specific characteristics of a group ideology. Policy is defined in the second section, being characterized, largely, as patterned behavior. The relationship between policy statements, reality and group ideology, is discussed by way of provision of a basis for the material presented in Chapter V (Educational Ideology). A summary is included in order to tie together the information contained in the chapter.

The Nature of Group Ideology

Canadian Indian people live in a complex society composed of intricate social, political, economic and ideological sub-systems. Although full of myriad discrete pieces, these "shreds and patches" can be pieced together to form the social fabric of society. Similarly, understanding of the society can be aided by analysis of the inter-relationships between the ideological and economic sub-systems of native people and the makers of their educational policy.

The ultimate validity of the group ideology held by policy-makers[1.] is not at issue. The question is the recognition of the relation between the way policy-makers think and the social, political, and economic conditions in which they live and work. It is important to note, at this point, that the individual ideology of a policy-maker does not totally reflect the aggregate, group ideology. Mannheim in Ideology and Utopia [2.] clarifies this point by a differentiation between what he terms a "particular" and a "total" conception of ideology. The "particular" conception refers to an individual, particulate, psychological meaning of the concept. It is inherently casual in its approach, seeking to explain why a particular individual thinks as he does. The "total" conception of ideology, on the other

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[1.] In this thesis the term "policy-maker" refers to those individuals who are in a position to make policy for Indian people and Indian education programs. These people are, therefore, high level civil servants working within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and elected federal representatives serving on the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, as a government appointee, is also included.

[2.] Mannheim's discussion is historical, not referring to one point in time.

hand, attempts an analysis of the relationship of all partial knowledge to a larger body of meaning and ultimately to the structure of historical and contemporary reality.

The difference between the "particular" and the "total" conception of ideology is, thus, one of emphasis and approach which reflects a dissimilarity in the dictates in the problem under study, rather than an intellectual value judgement which holds that one approach is valid and the other is not.

When handling broad issues, such as the political and economic relations of groups within a society, as is done here, the "total" view of ideology is best employed for three basic reasons. Firstly, the individual does not, as noted above, carry the complete ideology of a particular group within his society. He participates only in certain fragments as the basis of his individual judgements. What this statement means is that individual members of the social group individually have many portions of the ideology in common with all members of their group. They also have some portions in common with some other members, and a few parts are not held in common with any other group member. Thus, individuals in a shared or similar socio-economic environment develop on an individual basis an ideology that suits that environment. The argument is not that individuals reflect their environment by the development of a specific, in a sense prescribed, ideology which all individual, in that environment must hold.

A second reason for the use of a "total" concept of ideology is that the ideology of a social group represents more than the sum of the individual expressions of the ideology by the members of the group. It becomes a system of shared premises upon which individual expression and exprience is organized. Lastly, the aim of an analysis in the "total" vein is the reconstruction of the basic assumptions supporting the individual action. This forms of analysis cannot be effectively performed at the "particular" level any more than can other forms of comprehensive social, polictical, or economic analysis.

The conception of ideology used here is, therefore, a "total" viewpoint. It is concerned with the systems of thought of specific groups of people within Canadian society, and is consequently termed a "group ideology". A "group ideology" is defined as an internally consistent, self-sufficient way of viewing the world, which is shared by a specific group of people. Group ideologies are, then, integrated wholes, not just conglomerations of discrete pieces of experience. While assuming that a group ideology contains "particular" ideologies, clearly, there is no such thing as a complete concurrence of situation, attitude, state of consciousness, or acquisition of consciousness. The definition does imply that it is possible for individuals to approach issues from a similar perspective, and without necessarily being aware of their unity of thought. Also suggested by this definition of a group ideology is the idea that the unity of thought derives from the structure of the group in society, rather than being a random formation.

Before saying anything concerning the relationship between group ideology and policy statements, it is necessary to clarify a few points about the nature of a group ideology. The first point is that group ideologies arise from the social, economic, and historical context of the thinkers.

> ..... the meaning which make up our world are simply an historically determined and continuously developing structure in which man develops, and are in no sense absolute. (Mannheim 1936: 85)

What differeing groups of people think about a subject or concept vary from group to group, and their basic perceptions of the world are, similarly, divergent. The context, content, form, approach, and categories of thought are related to a particular social situation. The very fact that a scientist, for instance, conceives of, formulates, and attempts to answer a specific question derives from his and his discipline's position within society. Similarly, the specific interpretations -- the causes and the facts selected -- of the historian reflect the position of the historian within his society, and the position of his society in time. A more specific example of this point is that members of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development form a group with a definite social, economic and historical context in Canada. The group ideology held by this group might differ markedly from that held by persons employed elsewhere in the federal government.

In sum,

> ..... how one construes a total situation from given facts, depends upon the position one occupies within society. (Mannheim 1936: 125)

Another characteristic of a group ideology is that it is an abstraction, or partial reality, based upon the specific reality obtaining. As this process of abstraction is based upon the experiences and the economic, social, and political position of the group within the society, it becomes a perspectivist understanding of reality. The holding of an ideology which reflects the entire reality of the society, by one group in society is, thus, highly unlikely, if not impossible. As Lefebvre has indicated (Lefebvre 1969: 69) the conditions of consciousness are limited and limiting -- the known reality of a group ideology can only be fragmentary. In spite of the limited view of a group ideology, there is a tendency of those who hold it to universalize that viewpoint, to see the ideology as a truth for the entire society.[3] The group holding the most power within the society will be in the best position to insure that its ideology will be the dominant ideology of that society. (Marx & Engles 1947: 39, & Teeple 1972: xii) A complex society can, therefore, be seen as consisting of numerous group ideologies, each competing with one another and the dominant group ideology.

The reality which serves as the basis of the group ideology is in flux. In contrast, group ideologies themselves are static. In order to maintain this fundamental quality, the group ideology must be constructed such as to allow accomodation with the external reality. Hence, group ideologies are, in a sense, perfectable. Adjustments within the system take place which keep the ideology from becoming totally dysfunctional and being immediately replaced. These adjustments tend to deal with the derived premises of the ideology rather than the basic premises. This means that a group ideology is internally rigid, yet externally flexible. Ultimately the consistency of the derived premises within the ideological system begins to break down as the relation to the external reality becomes increasingly disjointed. When this discontinuity reaches the premises of the system, the ideology will likely be replaced by another, more functional ideology.[4.] It is important to note that the pressures for perfectability of the group ideology do not stem solely from the external environment. As noted above, group ideologies are defined as internally consistent, self-sufficient ways of viewing the world. Group ideologies, seek perfectability, or closure, of the system, for with closure comes, supposedly, minimal adjustment. In other words, less effort is involved in the maintenance of an internally stable system than in the maintenance of an unstable system.

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[3] Ideologies which are blatently incorrect in their view of reality, and which tend to lead to misdirected action (in relation to reality) are often referred to as "false consciousness". For discussion of the concept of false consciousness see Rocher, 1972 and Mannheim, 1951.

The relationship between a group ideology and its specific reality is not just one way, with the reality totally determining the ideology. An ideology can, through action based upon it, alter the reality which originally generated it. A tried-and-true example of this process can be found in the area of I.Q. testing. As Chomsky (Chomsky: 1972) and others have indicated, people tend to respond to the I.Q. test as if it were a valid indicator of "intelligence" by relating to an individual in terms of his score on that test. The reality generating the ideology is a mental capability which is measured by performance on a test. The ideology is the belief that the test does measure the "intelligence" of an individual -- that he or she is "intelligent" or "non-intelligent" as determined by the final score on the test. The effect on the reality occurs when the individual begins to act in terms of the expectations of, and the

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[4.] When discussing the perfectability of a group ideology it is important to note that the concept of consistency is operating on two levels: the first level refers to the notion that the ideology itself is striving for internal coherency. The second level concerns the relation between the group ideology and its external reality.

way he is treated by, others who accept the test results. In this situation the dominance of the group ideology is such that individuals who may or may not accept its premises find themselves evaluated on the basis of the ideology. In such a case these individuals may accept the definition of "intelligence", consciously or unconsciously, and may have their reality altered in accordance with the "facts" of the test results. Group ideologies, therefore, can place limitations upon people, and their experiences. These limitations reinforce and become part of a total experience.

Those who hold a group ideology seldom, if ever, examine the underlying assumptions of their thought system. The system tends to be unthinkingly transmitted and accepted. That the system is generally unthinkingly transmitted does not mean that conceptual self-awareness on the part of those holding a group ideology is not possible. Such awareness is, indeed, possible and a potential source of change. The significant point to be made is that a group ideology can, and usually does, effectively operate in the absence of conscious awareness on the parts of its holders.

> Ideologies ..... do not really understand their own conditions and presuppositions, nor the actual consequences to which they are leading. Ignorant of the implications of their own theories, they comprehend neither the causes of which they are effects, not the effects which they are actually causing; the real why and how escapes them. (Lefebvre 1969: 70-71)

Because premises are rarely examined, and because of the interrelation between reality and ideology, group ideologies become tautological. They are tautological in that an action based upon the premises of the ideology is rationalized or understood in terms of those same premises, and, in turn, reoccurence of the action is used to rationalized the premises of the ideology.

A final point to be made about the nature of a group ideology is that its ultimate fate is replacement by another group ideology, or ideologies. It is thus that in spite of efforts to maintain closure of the ideological system change does occur. It is worth noting that as pressures upon the underlying premises of the group ideology increase, internal pressures for closure similarly increase, leading to a more rigidified group ideology. The rigidity of a group ideology, then, is often an indication of how close a group ideology is to final decay or replacement.

> No historical situation can ever be stabilized once and for all, though that is what ideologies aim at. Other forms of consciousness and rival ideologies make their appearance and join the fray. Only another ideology or a true theory can struggle against an ideology. No form of consciousness ever constitutes a last, last word, no ideology ever manages to transform itself into a permanent system .... The consensus an ideology succeeds in bringing about in its heyday, when it is still growing and militant, eventually crumbles away. It is supplanted by another ideology .... (Lefebvre 1969: 77)

Policy and Group Ideology

Group ideologies are forms of thought, ways of thinking about a topic or topics by a specific group of people. An analysis of a group ideology is an analysis of a form of thought, of patterned behavior. In this sense a group ideology becomes a form of cultural symbolism, for it is behavior patterned by the confines of culture.

Viewing a group ideology as patterned social behavior emphasizes another aspect of the relationship between reality and group ideologies. That aspect is the role of individual cognative structures in limiting the alternatives of reality. Group ideologies do indeed derive from social, economic, and political conditions, yet these emergent group ideologies are limited in their possibilities. The operation of individual cognative structures is not within the scope or this thesis.

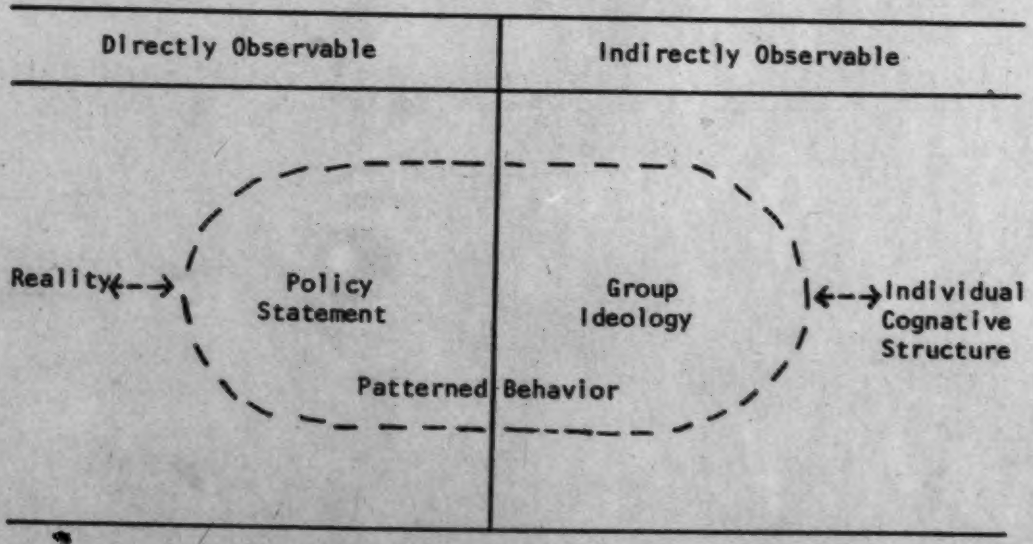
The point to be made is that these cognative structures limit the possibilities of reality. What emerges from the relationship between cognative structures and reality is a group ideology that is congruent with its socio-economic environment. The degree of congruence will vary according to the level of development of the group ideology. For example, a declining group ideology which is about to be replaced by another ideology will become increasingly disjointed as it relates to the socio-economic environment.

Without attempting to deal directly with the issue of individual cognative structures, it is possible to look at the relationship between individual processes and the external reality through analysis of the products of individual cognative activity. The product of this cognative activity selected for discussion here is the policy statements made by the federal government through its agents: the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Minister of that department, or the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

What, therefore, is a policy statement? It is a formal presentation of thoughts about a specific subject or subjects; it is as well, an expression of principles or beliefs upon which future action and decisions are to be based; it is an official, consciously developed manifestation of the, often unconsciously held, premises of the group ideology. In sum, a policy statement is a definition of a situation and a basis for action. Because a policy statement defines a situation and thereby limits the possibilities of future action, it can be said to be prescriptive. One further point about policy statements generally is that any written statement that is officially accepted by its originating body, and which is seen as a precident, or basis for further action, can be considered to be a policy statement. In other words, it is not necessary for a statement to be labled as "policy" before it can be considered to be functionally a policy statement.

The simple diagram below attempts to display visually the relationship discussed above. Both reality and individual cognative structures affect, and are affected by, patterned behavior here including policy statements and group ideologies. Similarly, reality and cognative structures interact with one another through the mediating processes of patterned behavior. The patterned behavior in the diagram is split between directly observable and indirectly observable behavior, assuming a gradient between the two. In this system of analysis, therefore, policy statements are the keys to understanding the inner structure of the group ideology held by the makers of Indian educational policy.

Diagram #1


Directly Observable
Indirectly Observable
Reality
Policy Statement
Group Ideology
Individual Cognative Structure
Patterned Behavior

Summary

This thesis attempts to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational system available to Indian people in Canada, through discussion of the underlying premises of that system. It is postulated that the premises can be derived from an analysis of Indian policy pertaining to education. It is further postulated that the premises represent the operation of a group ideology. A group ideology is defined as an internally consistent, self-sufficient way of viewing the world by specific groups of people in a society. The following characteristics of a group ideology have been identified:

1. Group ideologies arise from the social, economic, and historical context of the thinkers.
2. Group ideologies are abstractions from the external socio-economic and political conditions operant in a society at a given time. These conditions are viewed as the reality of the society at that time.
3. Group ideologies adjust to external changes without altering their basic premises for as long as possible. When the premises themselves become increasingly disjointed and rigidified in relation to the surrounding reality, the group ideology is on the road to replacement by another group ideology, or ideologies.
4. Group ideologies both affect reality and are affected by it.
5. The underlying premises of a group ideology are rarely examined by its holders.
6. Group ideologies are tautological.
7. Group ideologies are ultimately replaced by other group ideologies.

The processes inherent in these characteristics of a group ideology are to be examined in light of policy statements of various kinds made by the federal government pertaining to Native education programs. Policy statements, themselves, are seen as patterned behavior formulated through the interaction of external social, political, and economic conditions, and individual cognative structures. They are formal expressions of principles or beliefs upon which future action is to be based, and, thus, serve as directly observable representations of the group ideology of policy makers.

This theoretical foundation will be built upon in subsequent chapters. Chapter III (The Historical Period) begins this process by tracing the development of the economic forces at work, and relating them to the development of policy.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL PERIOD

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide an analysis of the formation of the group ideology held by policy-makers and the resulting policy. Group ideologies have been defined, and it is now time to see a group ideology in operation. A good way to begin understanding this group ideology is through an understanding of its development.

The historical material contained in Chapter III supports three main points significant to an analysis of the development of Indian policy. The first point is that economic forces and group ideologies evolve together. This is so because, as indicated in Chapter II, group ideologies are founded upon specific realities. When those realities change, so do the group ideologies. What this statement implies is that policy evolves with economic forces, because group ideologies evolve with economic forces. The link is not direct, but it is strong.

The second major point of this chapter is that once the economic forces stabilize, the group ideology and policy will similarly stabilize. With ideological stabilization begins the process of policy "shifts". Policy "shifts" are simply adjustments in policy which make the policy more palatible to, or more compatible with, the current economic-political reality. These policy "shifts", as with adjustments in a group ideology, do not imply any major change in the policy or its premises.

The third point deals with the specific case of Indian-White relations in Canada. By the close of this chapter it should be clear that the major trend indicated is a movement away from economic equality between Native and White society, and a movement toward reduced Indian productivity and participation. A key concept here is that of power, defined as the ability to make decisions central to one's life. With the loss of economic equality between White and Indian society comes the loss of political power for Native peoples. This loss of power, in turn leads to a loss of self-determination -- a loss of the proverbial "ball game". There is some equilibrium in that as the Native society loses power, the White society gains power; as Indian people have less and less to say about their own lives, policy makers have more and more to say.

Chapter III, then establishes the historical and economic conditions in which Indian educational policy was developed, and traces the development of policy. The time period has been divided into four sections:

1. Initial Contact to 1763: Economic Contact
2. 1763-1830: Military Contact
3. 1830-1867: Civilian Take-over
4. 1867-1900: Post Confederation Era

The contemporary period, 1900-1923, is discussed separately in Chapter IV.

Althouth these divisions are arbitrary, they are natural in terms of the history of contact. They represent changes in the emphasis of Indian-White relations, although certainly not changes in the broader patterns of interaction, for after the setting of the parameters of relations early in the fur trade days, the nature of Indian-White relations has remained remarkably static.

When viewing the history of Indian/White relations it is helpful to keep in mind not only a chronological flow, but a geographical flow as well. That is, contact proceeded on an east to west basis. The time periods established, therefore, refer to basic relations where contact was significant between the two groups. For example, the fur trade in Canada declined in the east earlier than it did in the west, and the effect of that decline was, thusly, felt at different times across the continent. In fact, there are still portions of the country where the fur trade is relatively viable today.

INITIAL CONTACT TO 1763: ECONOMIC CONTACT

The beginnings of European activity in Canada were very unpretentious. First came the off shore fishing fleets from Spain, Holland, France, and England, then the fur traders, principally from France and England, and finally settlers and land speculators appeared to take advantage of the vast stretches of land and the resources they contained.

The Character of Indian-White Relations

Contact with the Indians by European fishing fleets was minimal. It was with the founding of the fur trading companies in the early 1600's that prolonged contact was initiated.[1] The nature of the contact was primarily economic in the sense that fur traders were involved in the trade for profit, and were involved with the Indians as valuable "guides" and workers in the establishment and maintenance of the trading network.

> What to the Europeans was "discover" was, in some respects, at least, rather in the nature of a conducted tour: everywhere Indians guided them, paddled them, taught them woodcraft. In time, on the basis of this indispensable assistance, the French built up a corps of their own canoemen, or voyageurs - but the basic workforce remained the Indian hunting peoples. (Ryerson, 1963: 88)

Thus, the Indians were of distinct economic value to the traders, forming the mainstay of the fur trading system as the major producers of the wealth of the trade. That wealth in fact, has been estimated by 1780 to be roughly £200,000 sterling returned to England alone (Myers 1972: 52). Further evidence of the economic nature of Indian-White contact is that during the 17th and most of the 18th century, the Indian policy of both the French and British colonial governments was confined principally to attempts to regulate commerce with the Indians, to ensure that the Indians would not attack the European settlements, and to enlist their aid in the North American phases of what were essentially European wars. (DIAND, R32-2469/1: 1).

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[1] The period 1600 to 1670 saw the rise of numerous companies involved in the fur trade, some of which were The Company of Canada (1600-1632), Champlain's Company (1614-1620), Company DeCaen (1621-1633), Company of New France (1627-1663), Company of the West Indies (1664-1675), and Hudson's Bay Company (1670)

The fact that Canada changed hands twice in this period, in 1632 and 1763, did not much affect the French and English trading activities; both were involved in the area, and both utilized broadly similar techniques to obtain pelts from the Indians.[2] The most important methods, in terms of establishing the character of Indian-White interaction, were 1) the creation of a demand and then a dependence upon trading companies and traders for first trinkets and later supplies, 2) the use of liquor in trade and bargaining, and 3) the stimulation of intertribal warfare.

The Indians, obviously not valuing pelts in the same manner as their trading partners from Europe, traded furs for what were "bargain prices" in European eyes. For example, a beaver skin could be exchanged for a needle, a harness bell or a tin mirror. (Meyers 1972: 3). As he amount of trade increased, the Indians drove harder bargains, yet this increased "sophistication" was mitigated by a growing dependence by many Indian groups upon the trading companies for guns and powder, and other basic supplies.[3] Such dependence was in part engendered, often consciously by France and England, by the introduction of liquor and encouragement of increased intertribal warfare.

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[2] There were, of course, many differences in the nature and operation of French and English fur trading companies which are not immediately relevant here. One example is the differing organizational structure of the companies. French companies were based upon licensed (ideally) itinerant traders (Myers 1973: 5) whereas the British companies established systems of trade and permanent establishments.

The struggle for control of the fur trade by the French and the English spurred the use of brandy or rum to obtain the lowest possible price for furs from the Indians. That the manoeuvre of swindling the Indians through liquor became notorious, wide-spread form of abuse can be illustrated by the fact that the Sovereign Council, a body generally representative of trading interests in Canada, issued a decree prohibiting the giving of alcohol to the Indians. This moralistic stance was reversed when the decree was repealed in 1668 on the grounds that "... the sale of strong drink would cause less demoralization than a restraint impossible to enforce ..." (Myers 1972: 5). However, the Sovereign Council the next year issued a proclamation forbidding "... the lying in wait for the Indians in the woods or going to meet them, and prohibited drunkenness among the Indians ..." (Myers 1972: 6). By such actions, the government was indirectly legitimizing the cheating of Indians and the gradual erosion of their life-styles.

Intertribal warfare had been common among North American Indians before the appearance of Europeans. In their efforts, however, to increase the profits of the fur trade, and in their struggle for colonial territory, the Europeans manipulated and accelerated intertribal disputes.

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[3] This discussion is obviously sketchy. For a more detailed description of the early fur trade see the above mentioned books by Myers and Ryerson, and A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, A.S. Morton, Thomas Nelson, and Sons Ltd., Toronto; N.D., and H.A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronton, 1956.

> Thus Champlain at Tadoussac in 1603 pledged French military assistance to the Algonquin-Montagnais who were then at war with the Iroquois; six years later he joined a war-party of their's in an invasion of the Iroquois-Mohawk territory up the Richelieu ... In Champlain's later negotiations with the tribes, promises of arms and aid in war recur repeatedly, as inducements to continue trading with the French ... the European intervention transformed what had once been sporadic, local contests waged with bows and arrows into murderous wars of mutual extermination waged with firearms and extending over vast territories.
> (Ryerson 1963: 88-89).

H.A. Innis adds, "Alliances were formed and wars were favoured to increase the supply of fur. The net result was continuous and destructive warfare".

Land Holding and the Feudal System

While the fur trade was developing and growing, efforts were made to begin settlement in Canda. Frequently the charters of trading companies included the requirement that the company was to bring settlers to the new territory. Little, nonetheless, was achieved until after the restoration of Canada to France in 1632. After this time, more systematic attempts were made to establish a feudal system in the colony. The structure that developed was a mixture of mercantile, clerical, and feudal interests, resulting in a reinterpretation of the feudal system on Canadian soil. (Ryerson 1963: 106-111). It could hardly be expected that an exact duplicate of the French feudal system could be achieved when it is considered that the vast, unpopulated stretches of land permitted numbers of dissatisfied censitaires (those who worked the land) to vanish into the woods to become "coureurs-debois".[4] Similarly, the small size of the population created a situation in which labor was scarce and in which the dynamics of a flooded labor pool were not operable.

The system established was one of feudal privilege upheld by the power of the Crown of France, with a hierarchy running from the King down to the censitaire. A vassal, usually a trading company, received a land grant [5] from the King. The vassal, in turn, granted it to one or more seigneurs, who assigned plots of land to the censitaires, or tenants. Between the censitaires and the seigneurs was a system of feudal rights and obligations which conferred upon the seigneurs access to free labor and a percentage of the crops grown by the censitaires. [6]

Agricultural profit was not the only advantage to the holding of land, for lumber, furs, game, and, finally, speculation were further sources of wealth based upon access to land. (There was often a conflict between those who wanted to settle the land and civilize the Indian, and those sought to use the land for the above noted purposes.) Hence, the receipt of a land holding was usually the assurance of a comfortable livelihood free from the labor of direct cultivation or craft production, and pressures arose from merchants, officials, military officers, gentry, and the church to make large numbers of seigneuries available. The result was the granting by vassals and the Crown of vast tracts of land in Canada. By 1763, 7,985,470 acres were granted by the French Crown (Myers 1972: 23), with the Church receiving the largest share. (By the beginning of the 18th century, the Church was the largest landholder) (Ryerson 1963: 110).

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[4] Ryerson estimates that by 1763, 15,000 people left the feudal system to make a living by illegally trading, hunting, fishing, et. al. (Ryerson, 1963: 106).

[5] The land grant under the French system did not involve outright ownership of the land by the vassal, seigneur, or censitaire. It was more a trust holding.

[6] For a more detailed although apologetic account of the feudal structure of New France, see The Seigneurial Regime, by Marcel Trudel, The Canadian Historical Association Booklets, #6, Ottawa, 1956.

Indian Policy

With the increasing encroachment by the Europeans into their territory and the decreasing presence of fur bearing animals in heavily trapped areas such as the country south of the Lower Great Lakes, the living conditions of many groups of Indians became quite desperate. In response to these and other pressures, intertribal warfare intensified, as did resistance to the European presence. Between the 1630's and the 1660's, for example, the Iroquois, Allies of the British, waged a guerilla war against the French and their allies, the Hurons and the Algonquins. It was not until 1666 that French troops were able to forceable suppress the Iroquois, and to insure a minimal level of security in New France.[7]

In spite of this resistance to the extension of European society, by the time of the British reconquest of Canada in 1763, which signaled the end of British-French conflict, the position of the Indians of eastern Canada vis-vis the Europeans had changed from that of valued ally to that of conquered peoples. (Allies in both European military adventures and the fur trade.) Native people were commonly seen as the cheap labor of the fur trade and as impediments to European colonial expansion.

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[7] A good account of the Iroquois resistance can be found in Ryerson 1963: Chapter 12)

Government Indian policy of the period was, therefore, minimally formalized, revolving primarily around the regulation of commerce with the Indians, or the enlistment of Indian support in the remaining North American extensions of European wars. Policy was, therefore, largely pacificatory and laissez-faire.

With official governments taking a low key position in regards to Indians and Indian policy, the various churches in Canada and England initiated their campaigns to "civilize" that Native population. As the school programs that were developed by the churches reflected a moral concern both in England and the colonies about the well being of the less fortunate members of society, the tendency was not for separate schools for Native people, but for integrated schools which met the needs of both the European and Indian populations in question. These efforts by the church were sizeable, so that by 1763 the Roman Catholic Church in particular had become involved in Indian education. (Daniels: 1973: 55). These early efforts at proselytism served as a basis for later involvement in Native education programs and established the church as a legitimate partner with government in Indian affairs.

1763-1830: MILITARY CONTACT

With the return of Canada to Britain in 1763, the major conflicts between England and France ceased, and so, consequently, did the emphasis upon the use of Indian allies in the struggles occurring in Canada.[8]

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[8] This thesis does not attempt to deal with socio-economic relations developing in the thirteen colonies in the southern portion of British North America.

As Native peoples became less useful as military allies, they also became less useful as trading partners as the fur trade developed and began its movement west. With this major shift in military and economic relations, Indians, themselves, became military problem in the sense that it became increasingly desirable to move them out of trapping and settlement lands as peacefully as possible.

The Fur Trade and the Church

In the period 1763-1830, the fur trade began to close down in the east and to move north and west. The land was becoming settled and over-trapped. Consequently, the Indians in the east were, in most cases, reduced to poverty and often slavery.[9]

> Having been made wholly dependent on the fur trade during two centuries or more of European colonialism, the Indian peoples found themselves defenseless when the trade closed down in the east-central areas and settlement surged westward in the area of the Great Lakes and then the Prairie. (Ryerson 1968: 291)

With the centering of the fur trade in the west, a renewed intensity appeared in the trade, highlighted by the wars of the fur traders from 1805-1820, which culminated in the merger of the North West Company and Hudson Bay Company in 1820.[10] Here, as in the east, the Indians were manipulated and bore the brunt of the economic battle, serving not only as suppliers of furs, but also as the major "fighting force" in the struggles. Likewise, the Indians were badly hit by the adoption of economy measures by the newly monpolistic Hudson's Bay Company.[11]

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[9] Ryerson clearly discusses Indian slavery in Chapter 27 of The Founding of Canada.

[10] Myers, 1972, Chapter 4 has an interesting coverage of the wars of the fur trading companies.

[11] See quote, pg. 287, Innis.

As had occurred in the east, the missionaires followed the traders and trappers into the new territory, and established missions in order to convert the natives. (Kozak 1971: 56). As with the missionary efforts of the preceding era, activities in the colony reflected conditions in Britain. Schooling for the working classes in England was closely linked to increasing urbanization and industrialization, serving a stabilizing moralistic function. This pattern fit easily into conditions in Canada. The gradual evolution of the concepts of segragated schools and of the mission school began in this era, and served as the basis of the Indian education system which appeared after 1867. Education was seen as a tool in the conversion of the native population, and in the maintenance of the appropriate degree of spiritual purity. The church was the major force in Indian (and non-Indian) education at the time.) Any formal programs of governmental involvement in eduation did not yet exist.

The British Land System

When the British regained control of Canada, the French feudal system was largely abolished. The society which the British established can be most easily described as mercantilistic and aristocratic, in keeping with the economic structure of England at the time. Ryerson describes the colonial society as follows:

> British settlement in the Maritimes colonies and in Upper Canada took place under the aegis of governments that sought to implant a society dominated by large landowners and merchants, safeguarded from infections of republicanism. (Ryerson 1968: 85)

In order to create such a society, the practice was developed by the British government of granting large estates to army officers, government officials, wealthy merchants, and the Church.

> In Nova Scotia, some six million acres were thus granted; and in Prince Edward Island. 400,000 acres were given in 20,000 acre lots to Lords Westmoreland and Selkirk, Sir James Montgomery and a handful of 'members of the British aristocracy, military officers and others having claims upon the gratitude of Government'.. (Ryerson 1968: 84)

That this system of land grants led to fraud, corruption[12] and land speculation is not surprising. With the breakdown of French feudal society, land became, more than ever, a commodity to be bought and sold, something upon which to speculate, to make money.

> ... the system of free grants of vast tracts of land to favored individuals was being supplemented by a new type of business venture. Large-scale landownership, despite its ancient lineage as feudal institution, was by now firmly enmeshed in the cash relationships of a mercantile society; in 1820 one Joseph Pinsent had published a series of letters to Lord Liverpool urging adoption of a policy of 'sale of public lands to capitalists'. Acquisition of estates for speculative purposes linked with government-sponsored colonization schemes, was becoming an object of active interest on the part of 'persons who, with different object in view, were desirous of employing their capital in the settlement and cultivation of lands in Canada'. (Ryerson 1968: 89)

The wide-spread nature of land speculation at the time is exemplified by the fact that of the eight million acres in individual hands, five million were held for purposes of land speculation. (Ryerson 1968: 86).

A further squeeze on "public" lands was the clergy and crown reserves. By the Constitutional Act of 1791, one seventh of all land surveyed was to be reserved for the crown, and likewise one seventh was to be held for the church. This act was the result of pressures from the churches, anxious to maintain themselves and their power in the face of an enlarged, increasingly heterogeneous population. With the granting of three million acres in the Canadas to the clergy, the church retained its powerful landowning position. (Ryerson 1968: 86).

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[12] Chapter 5 in Myers, 1972, describes the scope of corruption generated by the free grants system of 1791.

European Immigrants

If landholders and speculators were to maximize their gain, and England was to stabalize its position in British North America, it was essential that settlers be encouraged to immigrate to the Canadas to work and buy land. Such encouragement was offerred and settlers began to arrive. The bulk of immigrants in the period 1763-1830 were refugees from the industrialization of Britain, and from the periodic shortages in the potato crop in Ireland. The failure of the potato crop of 1821-1822, in particular, brought large numbers of destitute Irish to the Canadas. There was as well an influx of united empire loyalists after 1776 from the newly formed United States of America. (Ryerson 1968: 99-101). Many of the new arrivals were not farmers, but were craftsmen or unskilled laborers who tended to remain in the cities. An immediate disappointment to those wishing to promote farm settlement, these city workers later became essential to the creation of industry in Canada.

The arrival of these impoverished immigrants from Europe served to fill out the lower levels of the socio-economic structure of Canada of that day, and formed the basis of the emerging class structure of the 19th century. Further stimulated by the breakdown of the pioneer self-sufficiency, the class structure that began to take shape consisted of farmers, laborers, craftsmen, merchants, officials, and landowners (Ryerson 1968: 93-4). Interestingly, although the Indian was of importance as a provider of land, furs, and other miscellaneous forms of labor,[13] Indian people were not integrated into the new British society; in fact, they were largely isolated from that society, in marked contrast to their position before 1763.

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[13] "The Local Ruling class of landowners, merchants, and officials depended for their power on toadying to the British colonial administrators, and for their wealth on the toil of the Canadian settlers and Indian trappers". (Ryerson 1968: 92)

Commutation of Indian Lands

With growing ecomomic and population pressures, the imperative of removal of Indians from their land increased in urgency, and with the lesson of the Iroquois resistance still in mind, the agency delegated for the task was the military. This body concerned itself with the acquisition of Indian land and the giving of presents to safeguard settlements and encourage Indian support in military ventures such as the Seven Years War. (DIAND, R32-2409/1: 2). The military dealt with the Indians as subject peoples, that is as peoples subject to the rules and decisions of a more dominant society. (DIAND R32-2469/1: 2). Legislation was, in fact, passed in Britain affirming that status. (Ryerson 1963: 239). That the natives were to be so considered was clear to the Europeans, but it was not clear, nor even mentioned, to the Indians who felt themselves to be a sovereign people. The official correspondence of Sir William Johnson, agent of the British among the Six Nations Indians observes that:

> ... the Indians would be 'startled' should they learn that at Westminister they counted as 'subjects'. For they held themselves to be 'allies and friends', and such we may make them at a reasonable expense, and thereby occupy our outposts and carry on a trade in safety, until in a few years, we shall become so formidable throughout the country as to be able to protect ouselves and abate of that charge ...
> (Ryerson 1963: 239)

Similarly, although the Indians saw themselves as sovereign allies of the British during the War of 1812, they denied any recognition as an equal party to the peace treaty, and their demands were ignored. (Ryerson 1963: 310).

This duplicity in dealings with the Indians was intrinsic in the procedures used in what the British government called the "commutation of Indian lands". The predominant procedures were the treaty and less than honest "business deals" with Indian peoples.

The treaties between the British and the Indians were founded on the assumption that although the Indians were a subject people, they did have certain use rights to the land they occupied.[14] (DIAND R32-2469/1: 2). As well, the use of treaties had been an effective tool in the competition for colonies by European nations. Thus, the formality of a treaty was essential both practically to prevent Indian armed resistance, and in a legal sense. (Cummings and Mickenberg 1972: 14-21). The "fairness" or "straightforwardness" of the treaties is another matter, for in spite of the fact that the Indians were led to believe that they were a sovereign people and that the treaty land belonged to them, "their" land was, in British law, held by the government. Treaty rights were, as Ryerson states, little more than a "precarious title ... merely a policy ... an expedient deception". (Ryerson 1963: 239).

Even the necessity of respecting native formalities and custom began to disappear after the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, reflecting the rapidly declining political and economic power of Indian groups.

> After the American Revolution the Iroquois were never again treated as a sovereign power. The British peace treaty with the Americans ignored the fate of their Indian allies. Lack of attention to the established conventions of the treaty made the point of decreased political power to the Iroquois more effectively than anything else. Much of this rudeness was deliberate and intended to demoralize. (Darnell 1971: 13)

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[14] It should be noted in passing that since the Indians were a hunting and gathering people, their notion of "ownership" of the land was markedly different from the European conception. Any notion of private property, in the European sense of the word, was absent. There was, instead, the idea of "use value". That is, Native

Other non-treaty arrangements were similarly misleading or power oriented. To illustrate, in an agreement in 1792 between the British and the Missisauga, the Indians ceeded some three million acres to the British in return for £1,180 in annuity money. In return for 10 shillings 250,850 acres were surrendered by the Missisauga in 1805. (Ryerson 1963: 238-241). The Salteaux were swindled out of twenty to twenty-four miles of land along the Red River by Lord Selkirk. Settlers were sent, in advance of payment to the Indians, to the Red River area by Selkirk. When Selkirk did arrive (as reported to the Aborigines Protection Society in London by Chief Peguis, and quoted in part in Myers 1972: 58-9),

> (he) ... told us that he had little with which to pay us for our lands when he made this arrangement, in consequence of the troubles with the North West Company. He, however, asked us what we most required for the present, and we told him we would be content until the following year, when he promised to return, to take only ammunition and tobacco ... The Silver Chief never returned, and either his son or the Hudson's Bay Company have ever since paid us annually for our lands only the small quantity of ammunition which, in the first instance, we took as a preliminary to a final bargain about our lands.

Summary

There are three factors basic to the period 1763-1830 -- the moving west of the fur trade and the church, continued European movement west into Indian lands, and the involvement of the military in Indian affairs.

The centering of the fur trade in the west provided the opportunity for the church to be involved with increasing numbers of Indian peoples through prosletyism and the mission school, which derives from this era.

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people felt they had access to land for their immediate use. The idea of buying or negotiating for land was as meaningless to the Indians as the idea of buying air would have been to the Europeans.

Although mission schools operated, they did not offer standardized programs, but continued to emphasize the "civilization" of the Indian. Such efforts were, however, extensive enough to secure the position of religious organizations in Indian education programs.

While the church was solidifying its position in Indian affairs in the west, forces were at work which intensified the involvement of the government. The primary factor here was the growing pressure upon the Crown the make more land available to the expanding European society. Land grants, of a freehold nature, were made to private individuals and to the numerous churches operating. Land was also opened up for speculation and settlement.

To make this land available more efficient procedures had to be developed to move Indian people off the land and further west. The military became the body responsible for the commutation of Indian lands, and initiated and enforced treaties to this end. Any policy developed relative to Native people was, therefore, of a military nature with no inclusion of broader educational concerns. Education remained within the hands of the church.

1830-1867: CIVILIAN TAKE-OVER

The military initiated, enforced, and offered a pattern for continuing exploitation of Indian peoples, based upon the economic imperatives of European society. As the "commutation of Indian land" proceeded, administrative complexities arose which were no longer easily manageable by the military structure. Further, the entrenchment of a technologically more powerful society in Canada reduced the need to have as the laison agent the military establishment. As a result, the military phase of Indian-White relations ended, and with it ended "whatever vestiges there were of one sovereign power dealing with another".

Technological superiority and administrative complexity were not the only reasons for the appearance of a civilian authority in Indian affairs. Great Britain was entering its golden age of imperial power, and the maintenance of colonies was an expensive proposition. From 1815 to 1914, there were only fifteen years in which Britain was not engaged in a costly military venture. (Green 1970: 60-61).

The sum of this colonial activity was the effort to economize in colonial administration. Such economization was partly expressed in the Canadian context as a shift to a supposedly more efficient, civilian-run authority for Indian affairs. Intertwined with this economizing activity was a growing humanitarian philosophy in Britain which manifested itself in attempts to aid the rising numbers of poor in England and to "better the lot" of the natives in the colonies. This humanitarianism was founded upon the ethincal strivings expressed by missionary activities in the period 1763-1830. (DIAND R32-2469/1: 3). Clearly the White Man's Burden could best be carried, in the case of the Indians, by government officials, who remained above the crude sanctions of the military.

The Socio-Economic Basis of Policy

Before discussing the policy and issues of Indian affairs during this period, it would be instructive to give some attention to the social and economic forces which created the groundwork for the development of policy. These forces can, again, be examined by looking at the nature of the fur trade and land use in Canada.

After the merger of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in 1819-1820, the fur trade continued in the west with the Hudson's Bay Company attempting to tightly control all aspects of the trade, including transportation, supplies, personnel, wages and production. (Innis 1956: Chapter 10). A strong stimulus to this reorganization of the fur trade in the North West was the continued encroachment into fur trade territory by settlers. The period of 1821-1869 was essentially a last stand by the big-business fur traders to resist the pressures of settlement. (Innis 1956: 286). Although the intercompany struggles abated, the continued reliance upon Indian labour did not, and the Indians of the west remained of considerable value to fur trading companies, unlike, in most instances, their counterparts in the east.

In land as well as labour, the Indians remained a significant factor. The need to utilize native land to maintain the growing province of Canada was still of prime importance. There were several factors involved in the land question. Firstly, the population of Canada had doubled roughly in the period 1824-1841. (Ryerson 1968: 102). This need for space to live, in its turn, kept the climate open for land speculation. Companies such as the Canada Company, an amalgam of the interests of the Family Compact and London capitalists, earned an intense dislike by settlers, but returned high profits. John Galt, head of the Canada Company, stated:

> Everyday confirms the soundness of my undertakings in the Upper Province, and the Company have pocketed above £ 300,000 through my instrumentality. (Ryerson 1968: 90)

Finally, with the completion of abolition of the then existing land tenure system and most of the clergy reserves in 1854, the transistion from a feudal society to a mercantile society was completed. There remained few legal and traditional holds against the buying, selling, and manipulation of land. "Commutation of Indian land" was stepped up, especially after the Robinson treaties of 1850, and reserve lands, themselves, began to shrink. For example:

> ... lands assigned by the British authorities to the Six Nations, the Mississauga, the Ojibeay and others were rapidly reduced to a fraction of their initial area. The Grand River tract 'shrank' from an initial 570,000 acres to less than 50,000. According to the testimony of the Indian Agent before an inquiry in 1839, the sale of land by the Six Nations took place under the most unfavorable conditions ... (Ryerson 1968: 291-2)

Indian Policy

With the above points in mind, the resultant Indian policy, comes into the appropriate perspective. The duties of the emergent civilian administration were to preserve old alliances, continue the "commutation of Indian land", and to "civilize and settle" the Indian (DIAND R32-2469 /1: 3). The "civilizing and settlement" of the Indian meant, in reality, the attempted creation of "peaceful" Indian cultivators in the British yeoman mold, and to this end farm equipment, seeds, livestock, etc. replaced the traditional presents given to Indians upon the formation of an alliance or treaty.

Issues deriving from this basic policy were in harmony with the "settling and civilizing" philosophy eminating from, first, the Imperial governmental administration, and then, after 1860, the Crown Lands Department of the Province of Canada.[15] At issue, to illustrate, was the argument of inclusion vs. exclusion. That is, should Indians be excluded from society as had been done in the past, or should they be integrated into Canadian life? The resolution, such as it was, held that the Indians must be encorporated into Canadian society, and must, at the same time, be protected from that society until their debut.

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[15] The number of government authorities involved in Indian affairs becomes very complex at this time. There were basically two levels of government involved: the British government and the various colonial governments. Much of the confusion was largely clarified with the transfer of Indian affairs to the Crown Lands Department

The arguing of this dispute did not include the native people, for their status had been defined by an 1839 Act for the Protection of the Lands of the Crown, which stated that the Indian could not claim separate nationality, and thus self-determination. If any Indian was dissatisfied, he or she could leave the tutelage of the government through enfranchisement, or the abrogation of what remained of the Indian identity. The Act of 1857 of the province of Canada reads, "... any Indian so declared to be enfranchised ... shall no longer be deemed an Indian".

Given the policy containment and civilization of the Imperial and Provincial administrations, one could expect minimal activity in the realm of education, and in fact the education of Indians by non-Indians remained predominantly with the church. The concept of the mission school spread west and north, as missionaries followed trappers into what was then the Northwest Territory and Rupert's Land. The fur traders and the missionaries reached a modus vivendi vis-a-vis the Indians that was accepted by the civil servants who began to appear in the area: the traders wanted pelts, and the churches wanted souls. (Carney 1971: 1 & 615). With such an accommodation in operation, there was little pressure upon the governments to alter the status quo in the west. The resultant dominance of the Church in Indian education was a pattern that remained well into the 20th century.

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of the Province of Canada in 1860. It is significant that the group ideology of both levels of government was the same.

1867-1900: POST CONFEDERATION ERA

The period 1867-1900 saw the formalization and expansion of practices of earlier stages of development. The economic forces pushing the Indians further out of their traditional modes of existence and into the confines of the various governmental agencies peaked. Once the European society acquired the needed land and labor from the Indians, the manifestations of political and economic relations between the two groups subtly shifted. The Indian was of marginal economic value, so it was no longer essential to woo him with vague promises and half-truths. By 1900, the subordinate position of the Indian in Canadian society was fully clear, and a detailed administrative system had been worked out in order to deal with this "social reality". The nature of this "social reality" and of the administrative organization and its premises has changed little from 1900 to the present. The fur trade, railroads, dominion lands policy, settlement of the west and the concomitant development of prairie grain farming all contributed to the ultimate codification of Indian policy in the late 1800's.

The Fur Trade

Confederation in 1867 marked the beginning of the end to the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade (Innis 1956: 387). The monopoly was officially ended with the 1869 purchase of Rupert's land. The monopoly achieved through the amalgamation of the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company began, nonetheless, to erode at an earlier date. As early as the late 1820's, trapping parties were operating in Hudson's Bay territory. (Innis 1956: 333-5). In addition to mounting competition, the change in fashion from beaver hats to silk hats further reduced profits for the once omnipotent

Hudson's Bay Company, and the growing populations of the Red River settlement and the Pacific coast limited the profitability of fur trading. The decline of the fur trade as an outstanding economic activity of Canada is reflected in the move from a preoccupation with fur trading to an emphasis on retail and wholesale trade by the Hudson's Bay Company after 1869 (Innis 1956: 398). This gradual passing of the boom days of the fur trade left large numbers of unemployed Europeans and Indians. Efforts to resettle the non-Indian company servants were not duplicated for the lower echelon of Indian employees of the company, (as opposed to the many fur traders working with the company), and consequently, many people were left with little or no access to, by then, necessary supplies. The dependent status of Indian peoples was hereby reinforced.

Railroads

If fur trading interests were on the decline, railroad interests were not. This is not to say that those interests were mutually exclusive, for, to illustrate, in 1863, the Grand Trunk owners acquired control of Hudson's Bay Company in London (Innis 1956: 397). As Innis and others have pointed out, the rising power of the railroad companies cannot be separated from the issue of Confederation, and later from the purchase of Rupert's Land by Canada. Railroads need land and passengers to remain financially solvent. Both passengers and land were guaranteed by Confederation and the emerging dominion lands policy of the 1870's to the 1900's. This land policy was the result of collaboration of the CPR and the Canadian government (Martin 1970: 144).

Dominion Lands Policy

The dominion lands policy of the late 19th and early 20th centuries further cut into Indian territories through the acquisition of land and the establishment of the following patterns of land use:

1. Half-Breed Grants and Hudson's Bay Reserves: The Manitoba Act provided one million four hundred thousand acres of land to Metis and their families.[16] Similarly, in 1874 grants of one quarter section, amplified in 1875 to script worth $160, were provided for all original White settlers or their children who had settled at Red River from 1812 to 1835 (Martin 1973: 20-22).
2. Railroad Land Grants: In order to subsidize the construction of railroads a series of charters and land grants were made to railroad companies, from the abortive CPR charter of 1873 to the last railway grant from dominion lands in 1894. The massive amount of land turned over the private railroad companies is illustrated by the fact that 25,000,000 acres were granted to the CPR in the Charter of 1874 (Martin 1973: 29 & 45).
3. School Land Grants: The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 set aside sections 11 and 29 in each township as an endowment for public schools (Martin 1973: 100)
4. Homestead Grants: The homestead grant system was established largely through the Order-in-Council of July 9, 1879, under the railway resolutions of that year, and through the final regulations of January 1, 1882 which implemented the final CPR charter.

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[16] See Martin 1973, page 21 for a discussion of the difficulties which arose with the Half-Breed Grants.

It opened up specified sections of land to homesteaders, and operated in conjunction with the sale of railroad lands and Dominion Lands (Martin 1973: 143).

5. Swamp Lands, Grazing Lands, and Timber, Mining and Water Use Rights: In 1885 policy was established which stated that all Crown Lands in Manitoba which could be shown to the satisfaction of the Dominion Government to be swamp lands, would be transferred to the Province (Martin 1973: 177). In the early 1880's public land was set aside for leasing at token prices to ranchers. Grazing lands continued until their transfer to Provincial control in 1930 (Martin 1973: 179-180). The statutes regarding timber, mining and water use rights are complex and are not directly relevant to this discussion. In terms of land policy the significant point to be made is that further land was reserved by the Canadian government which, in turn, leased or sold resource rights.[17]

Indian Policy

Confederation did not bring any fundamental changes in the political and economic relations between White and Indian society, nor did the Indian policy of the Canadian government differ from that of the British government. The policy was inherited from the British and codified; it was colonial in nature (Kozak 1971: 1; and DIAND R32-2469/1: 4). Basic to the policy was the continued alienation of Indian land, the establishment of Indian reserves, and the existence of a separate governmental department for the management of Indian affairs (DIAND R32-2469/1: 4).

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[17] See Martin, 1973, Chapter 11 for a detailed discussion of resource policy and land use.

Indian policy of the time had a philosophical system which was generated by, and in turn supported the details of the policy. Like the policy itself, these aspects of this system were historical in nature, and, more significantly, are part of contemporary Indian policy. Since the premises of contemporary Indian policy will be discussed later, only brief attention will be paid here to the underlying assumptions of policy as they expressed themselves in the period 1867-1900.

Firstly, Indians were seen as a homogeneous group, lacking culture and maturity. They were "... a people lacking restraint and discipline, economically unstable, politically simplistic, socially immoral and culturally void." (Kozak 1971: 47). As Edgar Dewdney, Commissioner from 1879-1888, stated, they were "veritable Ishmaelites". Obviously, Indian society and people were felt to be inferior to European society and people. Consequently, Indians were allowed little involvement in the formation of Indian policy and in the educational systems devised for them. Education programs were not designed for Indians to gain any form of power -- that was reserved for the church, trading, and government interests which were "autocratic, conservative, and fundamentally racist in character" (Carney 1971: 615). Another example of the expression of supposed Indian inferiority is the fact that Indians were consistently, but not universally, denied the "civil rights", in particular the vote, operating in Canadian society at the time. Enfranchisement, thus, became symbolic of the attainment of adult status by Indian people. Similarly, "help" was given primarily to those Indian groups visibly impoverished by the expansion of Canadian society (Ryerson 1968: 293). In sum, the Indian was not a fully human being, but was of a lower nature and status.

As a counterpoint to the idea that since Indians are deficient, that they could be treated in the most expedient manner, was the notion that the Indians must be civilized. That is, they must be encouraged to accept the values and life styles of the rest of Canada. For example, the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1876 states that the goal of the Indian Act of 1876 should be "... through education and every means, to prepare him for higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship". Similarly, the Annual Report for 1889 states that "The policy of destroying the tribal or communist system is assailed in every possible way, and every effort made to implant a spirit of individual responsibility instead." In spite of the fact that Indian people were to become White people, government agents of the period felt that this transformation should take place in private. Indians were to be isolated on reserves until they were able to take up the burden of citizenship (Kozak 1971: abstract). The resolution of this contradiction between assimilation and isolation was not achieved in this period, and still strongly affects Indian policy today.

These two assumptions -- the inferiority of the Indian and the desirability of "civilizing" Indian people -- characterize governmental activity in the sphere of Indian affairs, and mesh with the politico-economic imperatives then operative. For example, the accession of the Hudson's Bay land ultimately led to the signing of the many treaties of the 1870's,[18] to the passage of volumes of legislation pertaining to Indians, and to the formalization of Native education programs.

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[18] There are eleven "numbered" treaties. Treaties one through seven were signed in the 1870's. The final "numbered" treaty was signed in 1921.

The Indian Education System After 1867

The interrelation between action and ideology in the realm of Indian policy during the late 1880's is well illustrated by the structure and goals of the Indian educational system emergent after 1867. While education for the non-Indian Canadian changed, Native education remained the same. The most outstanding characteristic of that educational system was its denominational nature. The church had been active in areas "opened-up" by the fur trade, creating missions and attempting to convert the natives to Christianity. The vehicle seen as the most expedient in terms of proselytism was the mission school, hence after the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay territories in 1870, the various denominations operating in the west sought government aid in the form of school grants. The Federal government first simply approved the expansion of mission schools, but later supported and guided the religious educational organizations by; 1) approving applications for the building of mission schools, 2) provinding financial support, 3) setting the program of studies, 4) supplying educational materials, and 5) inspecting the schools (Kozak 1971: 7-8).

The rationale for supporting the mission schools was simple. The government saw the missionaries as agents capable of changing the life style of native people to that of a "civilized" people. Secondly, participation in the Church system was theoretically cheaper than the creation of an autonomous governmental school system. (Kozak 1971: 8 & 58). Carney, in his discussion of education in the north, succinctly stated the position of the Canadian government:

> The state used the church to achieve as well as maintain sovereignty in Canada'a North, to subjugate and control the native population, and to act as its agent ... for a carefully funded and deliberate educational program. (Carney 1971: 617)

There was then a dovetailing of interests of the church and government in the matter of the future of the Indian people. The government wished to create self-supporting, non-aggressive citizens, and the church desired a flock of good Christians. Education was to be the key to both of these endeavours, by destroying the old life-styles and replacing them with White values.[19]

The school system of the 1880's to 1900's consisted of day schools, industrial schools, and boarding schools, each under the direction of a group of missionaries. The first to be established on the reserves was the day school upon which Government interest and expenditures were limited. The schools were soon viewed as a failure by the government and attempts were begun by the early 1880's to phase them out, shifting emphasis to the less expensive industrial school (Kozak 1971: 62). The immediate objective of the industrial school was the teaching of trades, especially farming for boys, and domestic skills for girls. Additionally, the schools were concerned with the eradication of Indian behaviour and beliefs and their replacement with the standard morals of Canadian society.

> Industrial schools attempted to teach values of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, efficiency, independence, thrift, honesty, duty, patriotism, and concepts of private property and individualism. (Kozak 1971: 73)

As with the day schools, the ideal New Indian was not created, and moreover, graduates usually were faced with unemployment for their efforts. Hence, the development by officials in Indian Affairs of the concept of the boarding school. The boarding schools operated on essentially the same principles as the industrial schools without, however, the accentuation of the teaching of employment skills. The boarding shcools were established for removing children from the influences of home life, thus providing more conductive conditions for the successful teaching of the English language, basic knowledge, Christianity, and to a limited extent, the arts of husbandry and domesticity: in toto, the indoctrination of the European system of values (Kozak 1971: 6-7).

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[19] For a discussion of the effects of the mission system and the response by Native people see Cardinal, 1969.

By 1900, the educational system in operation was still a missionary system of formal education. The industrial school had nearly been phased out, leaving the boarding shcool as the predominate force in education The day school, on the other hand, had not been totally eliminated, for Indian parents were reluctant to send their children to the industrial or boarding schools. Aside from the decision to refuse to cooperate and send their children to the designated educational centres, Indian parents had little say in the development and operation of their schools. Pressure by individuals or Native groups forced minimal change -- either in the structure of Indian education policy or in its supportive group ideology. At the close of the 19th century the Indian was truly a "second class citizen", operating in a system which denied the traditional culture and restricted participation in the wider society.

Summary: The Historical Period

The history of Canadian Indian-White relations is, essentially, the history of the wealth and resources of Canada. It is an economic history in which control over those resources quickly passed into the hands of European Canadians. In the early days of the fur trade, the Indians were of clear economic assistance to the traders, helping them to establish the lines of trade and to learn the techniques of survival.

During this period of time, Indian peoples were treated as equal partners in the fur trade by the newly arriving Europeans, and in the extensions of the wars between England and France. As the fur trade expanded and settlement increased, pressure upon the Indian lifestyle and land mounted, leading to friction between the two cultures. Relations with Indians were handled now by the Military, which viewed them as a conquered people.

The necessity of "opening up" Native lands was intensified by the rise of the lumber industry, land speculation, and the breakdown of feudal society in Canada, as well as by the continued pressures of a growing fur industry and population. As the European society firmly entrenched itself in North America, the requirement that the military conduct Inidan affairs was reduced, and that factor combined with the growing bureaucratic complexities of Indian-White relations, fostered the rise of a civilian body for Indian affairs in the form of the colonial office. This body proceeded to "commute" Native land and make alliances as dictated by the expansion of economic activity and settlement into the north and west.

Canadian confederation symbolized the emergence of the European society as the dominant force in Canadian political and economic affairs and, therefore, the end of any pretense that Canadian Native peoples were a sovereign nation. Solidly assimilated into a world of governmental administration and of growing poverty, the traditional Indian cultures continued to deteriorate. By 1900. Indian peoples were merely one ethnic group -- the poorest -- within a multicultural nation, the fortunes of which were founded upon the fur traders' exploitation of Indian labor and the expropriation of Indian land. The socio-economic and political conditions in which Native peoples were living by the turn of the century are, with little change, the conditions obtaining today.

As the above noted historical processes developed, so did the group ideology of those who made decisions concerning the creation of Indian policy. The resultant policies were in harmony with the basic economic forces in operation. Under the French regime the policy was the individual policy of the fur traders (both British and French); under the British the policy was a colonial policy which sought to limit and control the native population; the policy of the new Canadian nation was an expansion of the British model.

A major element in the Indian policy of each period was the role played by the various churches operating in Canada. These churches aided the State by helping in the Native pacification process, and, in return, the State allowed the churches the opportunity to make religious converts among the Indians. The centre of this intermingling of interests was the school. Initially funded solely out of mission funds, the mission school ultimately became the government school, administered by missionaries of the denominations. Today the government school is seldom run exclusively by religious agents, but the premises, clearly present by 1900, of the supremacy of Canadian society, the legitimacy of the impoverishment of Indian society, and the general inability of Indian people to manage their own affairs, still appear in the school room and in the written policy of government educators.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

Introduction

By 1900 the nature of contemporary Indian-White relations had been established, the processes of their development firmly entrenched. By this time Native society had fallen into a fully subordinate position within Canadian society; a detailed administrative system had been developed to "handle" Indian Affairs by the federal government; Native cultures had experienced significant cultural deterioration; and the church remained the major force in Indian education. Thus begins the Contemporary Period.

Chapter IV examines the development of forces in the Contemporary Period which are basic to the analysis of the group ideology held by policy-makers, emphasizing areas in which the processes are in flux. It will be upon this background material and the analysis of present policy that conclusions will be drawn regarding the group ideology pertaining to Native education, and regarding possible directions in Indian education systems.

To this end, Chapter IV reviews developments in Native education from 1900 to 1973, and examines the contemporary socio-economic conditions surrounding both Native peoples and those who create Indian policy. As well, the chapter includes a discussion of the rise of the Indian movement in Canada, for if any basic changes are to be made in Indian-non-Indian relations a major source of pressure is likely to be organized Indian groups.

Developments in Native Education: 1900-1973

The period 1900-1973 can be looked at in four developmental phases: 1) segregation 2) the end of denominational control 3) intergration and provincialization 4) Band Control. These phases are, of course, interpretive, but they do reflect the direction of change in Indian education.

Segregation: Stemming from the philosophies of containment of the previous period, 1867-1900, most educational programs for Indian children were separated from the programs for Non-Indian children well into the twentieth century.

> ... for the large majority of Indian children, the years between the birth of Confederation and the mid-way point of this century saw them receiving their education in the segregated atmosphere of the reserve. (Daniels 1973: 75)

It was not until the recommendations arising out of the meetings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Indian Act that a gradual end to segregated education for Indian children was begun. Those hearing were held between 1946 and 1948. (Daniels 1973: 76).

It is interesting to note that throughout this period of segregation the concept of local Indian participation in the administration of education programs was encouraged. Of course, overall control of education was maintained by the federal government through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, but it was participation nonetheless. (Daniels 1973: abstract). It was not until the Indian Act of 1951 that local involvement in education was curtailed.

The End of Denominational Control: As discussed in Chapter III, the church was historically the major force in education for Native peoples, as it was for the non-Indian population. Non-Indian education, however, developed into an issue of governmental involvement and passed from the realm of church control well before that change was made within Native education. During the late 1940's church influence was still legally existant, but was diminishing. In 1949 the federal government began paying the salaries of teachers at three schools, and by 1954 all salaries were so paid. With salaries coming under federal control, the role of the church was officially limited. (Daniels 1973: 70).

Integration and provincialization: Federal policies of the 1950's and 1960's directly stemmed from the decline of church influence over and control of Native education. As the church pulled out of its leadership role in education, the federal government stepped in and began efforts to place the education of Indian children and adults under the jurisdiction of the provinces. The local control of the educational process by Indian people was, as discussed above, severely trimmed, as emphasis was placed upon integration into the provincial school system. (Daniels 1973: abstract).

Attempts by the federal government to follow its policy of "provincialization", as integration into the provincial school system was called, met with oppostion by Indian organizations across Canada;[1] and was, as a consequence, slowed down. Pressures against provincialization and pressures for local control of education[2] which were led primarily by Indian organizations, set the groundwork for the response by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. That response was the announcement of a shift of administrative control from the Department to the local Indian Bands in 1973.

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[1] For more detail see the section on the Rise of the Indian Movement contained later in this chapter.

[2] See the discussion of the Blue Quills in Chapter V for more information on the pressures for local control of education by Native people.

Band Control: In May, 1973 the Minister of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chretien, announced that, "Appropriate authority has already been obtained to transfer education programs to Indian Bands". (Chretien, Speech, May, 1973: 4). This shift of authority was considered without input from Native people[3], and does not, necessarily represent accurately local sentiment. There have been questions raised by the Indian organizations has to whether the proposed transfer of responsibility would become anything more than a transfer of administrative responsibilities, and whether or not any decision making powers would be placed at the local level. Final discussion and decisions concerning the transfer (or rather partial transfer) of education to the Band level have not taken place, and the ultimate direction to be taken has not been determined. What is clear, however, is that the government trend to provincialize Native education has been slowed down and redirected.

Given the above briefly noted developments in Native education, what is the basic socio-economic situation for Indian people in which the educational system is operating?

The Socio-Economic Position of Native Peoples in Canada

As was discussed in Chapter III, Indian people in Canada have joined that group of people who are not deriving full benefits from being members of the Canadian "Cultural Mosaic" -- they are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, forming the most poverty stricken minority group in Canada. Most Canadian Indians are born into poverty, live their lives under conditions of extreme poverty, and die in poverty (Harding 1971: 240 & 241; Adams 1971: 27 & 28; and Nagler 1972: 131, & 134-5). Not only is this poverty abject, it is largely isolated from the rest of Canadian society. Following Oscar Lewis' theoretical framework of poverty (Lewis 1966: 3), Indian society is not integrated with the major institutions of society. It forms its own culture of poverty, with all of the suffering and psychological repurcussions that the concept subsumes (Nagler 1972: 141).

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[3] See Chapter V for a discussion of this announcement.

Indian peoples are deprived, isolated on reserves, and discriminated against for being Indians. This discrimination goes largely unrecognized by the public at large, but, noetheless, continues. A survey by the Canadian Corrections Association entitled Indians and the Law states:

> Underlying all problems associated with Indians and Eskimo in this country are the prejudice and discrimination they meet in the attitudes on non-Indians. (Quoted in Cardinal 1969: 3-4)

Acknowledged or not, discrimination against Indians profoundly affects their life chances. Table 1 clearly demonstrates the over-and-under representation of various ethnic groups within selected occupations over time. The "British" and "Jewish" groups consistently monopolize the professional and financial occupations, and the "Indian" and "Eskimo" groups consistently fall into the primary and unskilled labor categories.

The following statistical information indicates the dimensions of Indian poverty.

Reserves: The Economic Council of Canada estimates that only 1/3 of the 2,200 reserves in Canada have the economic potential to support their present populations (Adams 1971: 43). Further, confining people

TABLE 1

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, MALE LABOUR FORCE, CANADA, 1931, 1951, and 1961, PERCENTAGE OF OVER-REPRESENTATION IN OCCUPATION BY ETHNIC GROUP

		British													
	British total	English	Irish	Scottish	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Dutch	Scand.	East European	Other European	Asian	Indian and Eskimo	Total male labour force
1931															
Professional and financial	+1.6	+1.6	+1.0	+2.2	-.8	-2.2	-3.3	+2.2	-1.1	-2.9	-3.9	-4.4	-4.3	-4.5	4.8
Clerical	+1.5	+1.8	+1.0	+1.4	-.8	-2.2	-2.5	+.1	-1.9	-2.7	-3.4	-3.5	-3.2	-3.7	3.8
Personal service	- .3	0.0	-.5	-.7	-.3	-1.2	+2.1	-1.2	-1.5	-1.5	-1.1	-1.7	+27.8	-3.1	3.5
Primary and unskilled	-4.6	-4.4	-4.9	-4.8	+3.3	-5.3	+26.1	-14.5	-4.8	+1.4	+12.4	+35.8	+10.2	+45.3	17.7
Agriculture	-3.0	-6.1	+2.7	-1.5	+.1	+21.1	-27.6	-32.4	+18.5	+19.8	+14.5	-5.8	-20.9	-4.9	34.0
All others	+4.8	+7.1	+.7	+3.4	-1.5	-10.2	+5.2	+45.8	-9.2	-14.1	-18.5	-20.4	-9.6	-29.1	36.2
TOTAL	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
1951															
Professional and financial	+1.6	+1.6	+.9	+2.5	-1.5	-2.2	-3.1	+4.2	-1.7	-2.1	-2.9	-2.4	-2.8	-5.2	5.9
Clerical	+1.6	+1.8	+1.3	+1.4	-.8	-2.5	-1.7	0.0	-2.4	-2.8	-2.8	-2.5	-2.9	-5.2	5.9
Personal service	-.3	-.2	-.4	-.5	-.2	-1.2	+2.0	-1.4	-1.2	-1.0	+.6	+2.0	+23.9	-.6	3.4
Primary and unskilled	-2.2	-1.7	-2.2	-3.2	+3.0	-3.7	+9.6	-11.5	-1.7	+.5	+2.3	+5.7	-1.9	+47.0	13.3
Agriculture	-3.2	-5.5	+.5	-1.6	-.3	+19.1	-14.7	-18.7	+17.3	+14.7	+11.2	+3.4	-8.7	-7.8	19.4
All others	2.5	+4.0	-.1	+1.4	-.2	-9.5	+7.9	+27.4	-10.3	-9.3	-8.4	-6.2	-7.6	-28.2	52.1
TOTAL	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
1961															
Professional and financial	+2.0	-	-	-	-1.9	-1.8	-5.2	+7.4	-.9	-1.9	-1.2	-1.1	+1.7	-7.5	8.6
Clerical	+1.3	-	-	-	-.2	-1.8	-3.2	-.1	-1.7	-2.4	-1.7	-2.0	-1.5	-5.9	6.9
Personal service	-.9	-	-	-	-.2	-.7	+2.9	-2.4	-.5	-1.1	+.9	+5.1	+19.1	+1.3	4.3
Primary and unskilled	-2.3	-	-	-	+2.8	-2.1	+11.5	-8.9	-2.0	-.2	0.0	+1.8	-3.6	+34.7	10.0
Agriculture	-1.5	-	-	-	-1.4	+8.8	-9.5	-11.7	+10.3	+10.6	+6.9	+.6	-6.5	+6.9	12.2
All others	+1.4	-	-	-	+.9	-2.4	+3.5	+15.7	-5.2	-5.0	-4.9	-4.4	-9.1	-29.5	58.0
TOTAL	0.0				0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

SOURCES: Census of Canada, 1931, monograph 4, Table 67, and vol. 7, Table 49; Census of Canada, 1951, vol. IV, Table 12; and Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 3.1-15, Table 21.

N.B. Recent, available statistics fail to give information according to ethnic group.

to reserves has heightened the deterioration of traditional Indian lifestyles, and has perpetuated the patterns of insufficient job training and inadequate knowledge of White culture (Nagler 1972: 134; and Cardinal 1969: 4).

Education: In 1966 the Hawthorn Report had this to say about the condition of Native education in Canada:

> Samples taken throughout the provinces show that approximately 80% of Indian children repeat grade one. Many Indian children repeat grade one three times. Others are promoted after failing grade one; they usually manage to complete grades two and three but fail grade four. The failure pattern then remains consistent through to grade eight. In grade eight, a large number of Indian students leave school. The remainder continue through to grade ten, usually repeating the one or two years, at which point most leave school entirely and approximatley 20% go into vocational institutes. Those few students who continue through grade ten usually do adequately in grades eleven and twelve and complete high school. (Hawthorn 1966, Vol. 2: 131)

Things have imporved little since the Report. For example, only one quarter of the Indian and Metis population attains a sixth grade education. (Harding 1971: 241). Out of a population of 247,000 (1965 census) Indians and Eskimo in Canada, only 6,834 attended high school in 1968-69. In 1968-69 there were only 189 Indian students involved in university education, 38 in teacher's training, 20 in nurses training, and 74 training as nurse's aides. There were 1,705 Indian students in vocational courses. As of 1968-69, federal scholarships to Indian students totaled only 57, of which 47 went to students in vocational training courses and 10 went to university students (DIAND 1970, R32-2670: 28-30).

Health: Indian people require hospitalization twice as often as the rest of the population, yet few Native people are included in the supposedly "universal" health care programs in existence. (Harding 1971: 241). Infant mortality among Indian groups is 293 deaths per thousand -- ten times the infant death rate for the population as a whole. Preschool mortality is eight times the national average. (Borovoy 1971: 213; Adams 1971: 27; and Harding 1971: 241). Finally, the life expectancy of a Canadian Indian woman is 25 years, and that of Indian men is 35 years. (Adams 1971: 27).

Housing: In 1966 over 80% of Indian homes were without electricity, sewers, septic tanks, flush toilets, running water and telephones. (Borovoy 1971: 213). More than 16% of Indian families live in one-room houses, and more than 50% live in three or less rooms. (Harding 1971: 24)

Income: According to a 1965 Indian Affairs survey, 78.5% of Indian households had income of less than $3,000 per year; 54.5% had incomes less that $2,000; and 28.2% had incomes less than $1,000. (Adams 1971: 27). In northern parts of Saskatchewan the average income of Indian (and Metis) families is approximately $500. The Economic Council of Canada set the standards, conservatively, of poverty at $2,000 a year for a single person, $3,500 for a family of two, $4,000 for families of three and four, and $5,000 for families of five or more. (Adams 1971: 16).

Employment Patterns: The 1961 census found that Indians (and Metis) were the least employed segment of the employable labour force. Only 15.9% of the employable Indians (and Metis) were working, as opposed to 35.7% of the population at large. (Harding 1971: 241). Indians are under-represented in all occupational categories aside from that of unskilled, menial labour (See Table 1), and most work income derives from periodic and seasonal wage labour. (Nagler 1972: 135). In order to find employment, most Native peoples are forced to leave their families and friends on the reservation and move to cities, where they tend to form poor, "Indian Ghettos". (Adams 1971: 43; and Nagler 1972: 133 & 137).

Law: Indians often plead guilty to charges against them, largely through being unaware of their rights, privileges, and the charges themselves. This is illustrated by the fact that slightly more than 50% of the men in the Prince Albert Goal between the ages of 16 and 30 were Indian. Indian people regularly receive sentences for misdemeanors, for which non-Indians rarely get more than a fine, and Native people are often jailed for not paying the fines that they cannot afford. (Harding 1971: 242 & 246).

The Socio-Economic Position of Policy Makers in Canada

In stark contrast to the conditions of Indian existence is the socio-economic position held by those developing Indian policy. The livelihood, for example, of those involved in Indian affairs is quite generous. In 1973, for example, House members of the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs and Northern Development earned $18,000 per session plus non-taxable expenses, and the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was paid $41,000 -- a sessional allowance of $26,000 and travelling expenses of $15,000 per session.[1] This renumeration did not include any monies made as a private citizen when Parliament is out of session, and is in contrast to the average yearly income in Canada for that year -- $7,702.08.[2]

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[1] Information prepared by the Reference Service, INFORMATION CANADA, 171 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario.

[2] Figures computed from information obtained in the Canadian Statistical Review, publication 11-110, 1973.

Not only are policy-makers economically remote from the majority of Indian peoples, they are socially and politically isolated as well. (Poster 1971: 5). This isolation is intensified by the fact that the political and social elite, from which policy-makers are largely drawn and heavily influenced, are few in number, and limited to small number families of wealth and influence. (Johnson 1972: 154).

Power

Very simply, Indian people today are not only cultures apart, they are worlds apart from those who set basic Indian policy. This social, political and economic contrast creates the power gap between Indian people and policy-makers which characterized the issues of group ideology, policy, and Native education programs.

Power is simply defined here as the ability to make key decisions about one's life. It also refers to the probability of being able to carry out one's will in the face of opposition. Clearly, Indian people have minimal power to make the basic decisions in their lives, as their participation in the formulation of fundamental concepts, policies, and regulations directing their daily living is minimal.

The perpetuation of the gap in power between Native people and policy-makers serves to maintain the present economic position of Indians, as well as the current group ideology of policy-makers and the derivative policy. It means as well a lack of self-determination for Indian bands. It is, therefore, not surprising that the gap in power is a major target of the Canadian Indian movement.

The Rise of an Indian Movement

Little change has taken place since 1900 in the basic political, economic, and social relationship between Indian people and those who control their affairs. Federal Administrative procedures have been refined, and the jargon updated, yet the underlying poverty of Indian groups in Canada remains largely untouched. Into this depressingly static picture comes what has been termed the "Indian Movement", with all the pros and cons, ups and downs, strengths and weaknesses of any social movement. In spite of its often chaotic and uneven direction, the Indian movement is the only factor likely to produce change. This condition indicates that, unless some unforeseen forces are generated, the nature of the group ideology of Indian education, education policy, and the education system itself is not likely to change in the near future unless this movement generates the necessary pressure to force it.

The origins of a visible Indian movement in Canada can be located in the 1920's when Indian leaders first attempted to organize Native people for action.[3] These early efforts were doomed to failure largely because of the inadequate communications systems of the day, and because of the intransigence of Indian agents who feared the loss of their jobs. There was no money available for organizing activities and no assurance that the necessary tasks would be completed by the totally voluntary membership.

By the 1930's and the mid 1940's provincial movements began to bring Indian people from across the nation into contact. Communications had improved, church leaders benevolently encouraged Native efforts, and agents of the Department of Indian Affairs were less successful in hampering the movement. During this period provincial meetings took place in which Indians began to voice more clearly the issue affecting their daily lives, and to seek remedies for the economic dislocation of Indian communities within Canada. By the time, it was fully clear that solveable problems exist for Indian people that are not going to be handled voluntarily by the federal government.

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[3] For a more detailed treatment of the Indian movement see Cardinal 1969: Chapter 10.

> With the postwar period came strengthening of the Indian organizations and increased pressure for more freedom from control by the Indian agents, for better educational opportunities, for more emphasis on resources to develop the communities and, most important, insistence upon the honoring and implementation of the terms of the treaties and the settlement of outstanding land claims. (Cardinal 1969: 101)

The early 1950's saw the emergence of organized efforts by Native people to pressure the federal government into meeting the demands and needs of reserve communities across Canada. Resulting from this pressure, in good part, was the change in the denominational nature of education.[4] At this time the federal government took over responsibility for the education of Indian children from the churches, and sought new structures for the education of Indian children. It should be noted that although responsibility for Indian education programs shifted, there was no change in attitude on the part of Indian affairs personnel. The change was largely administrative on the government's part.

The initial successes of the 1950's brought with them resistence from two threatened quarters: the churches and the government. When the church's role in education came into question, and was altered, religious leaders quickly withdrew their support for Indian organizations in the mid 1950's. The use of band monies by and for Indian organizations was forbidden, and the setting up by the government of "consultation meetings", or "agricultural conferences", was introduced. These meetings was the channelling of Indian grievances into nonvolatile sectors, and the reduction of the impact of the Indian organizations.

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[4] Another significant factor in the change in the denominational nature of education was the stagnation of the system itself and its increasing irrelevance and loss of power within Indian communities.

The federal style of the 1950's was carried into the 1960's with the provincial and national Indian advisory councils sponsored by the federal government. Like the "agricultural conferences" these meetings served to dissipate Native action, primarily as Council members were not to sit as representatives of their people, but as consultants whose advise could or could not be taken at the discretion of the Department of Indian Affairs. By 1968 Indian people managed to have the meetings ended, but the conception of meaningless, powerless conferences continued to be a response of the Department of Indian Affairs in the face of persistent pressures from Indian organizations. With the argument of "We have consulted with the Indian people" for support, the Department of Indian Affairs continued in the long standing practice of making unilateral decisions concerning the fate of Native people.

The late 1960's and early 1970's, however, brought with them better organized, stronger, more effective provincial organizations such as the Indian Association of Alberta, and the emergence of pan Indian organizations like the National Indian Brotherhood which directs its efforts into the coalesence of Indian opinion and action. It is organizations such as these which are spearheading whatever pressure is exerted by the Native people on the federal government for basic economic and political changes. Whether the efforts of such groups will ultimately change the Indian-government relationship or even Indian education policy remains to be seen. What is clear, though, is the recognition that the official government stance will change only when the government is forced to change that position. The ideological position of the government will continue until it is no longer expedient to do so.

Summary

As noted in the introduction, the picture of the socio-economic conditions of Native peoples and of policy makers is a picture of extremes. That is, the socio-economic group at the bottom of the Canadian hierarchy is the Canadian Indian population. In contrast, those developing Indian educational policy earn good livings as top civil servants or elected officials.

What is significant about the socio-economic gap between the makers of Indian policy and the Indians themselves is the resulting gap in power between the two groups. Native people participate little in the formulation of basic concepts, policies, and regulations which affect their daily living. These key decisions are made -- largely in a vacuum -- by bodies and people removed from the conditions and problems surrounding life as a Canadian Indian.

This political and economic power gap developed through the historic process of economic interaction between Native and White society, and is now only beginning to be seriously questioned or challenged through the rise of Indian movements across Canada. At present the burgeoning and often stagnating Indian organizations represent the only meaningful factor for change in the pattern of Indian-White relations. It was, for example, largely due to the pressure brought to bear by Indian organizations that the church's control of the education of Indian children was diminished, and if there is to be any change in the governments's approach to Indian policy and education it will most likely be produced by continued pressure by Indian people.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY

Introduction

The preceeding chapters have attempted to provide a framework within which to view the material presented in this chapter, (Educational Ideology). The first chapter presents an introduction to the problem, which is to understand the nature, formation, and implications of the educational system available to Indian children and adults, through discussion of the underlying premises of that system.

Chapter II (Theoretical Considerations: The Nature of Group Ideology and its Relation to Policy Formation) presents the theoretical position of the thesis, by defining group ideologies, discussing their characteristics, and analyzing the relationship between a group ideology and policy. This chapter raises the point that federal policy statements about the education of Indian children are formal presentations of thoughts about Native people and their education. These policy statements, it is noted, will be used as a tool for understanding the nature, formation, and implications of the Indian educational system.

The Historical Period, Chapter III, establishes the historical and economic conditions in which Indian educational policy was developed, and traces the development of policy. This step is taken as policy developes with economic and historical forces, and a full understanding of policy and ideology is seldom possible without some thought given to origins.

A discussion of the contemporary socio-economic conditions of both Native people and policy-makers is found in Chapter IV, (The Contemporary Period). As with Chapter III, this information adds to the framework of analysis by clarifying what is actually going on in the reality in which the Native education system, its associated policies, and group ideology is operating.

Upon this base Chapter V (Educational Ideology) offers a discussion of the group ideology pertaining to Indian education. The chapter attempts to describe the basic premises of that group ideology, and to point to areas in which there is increasing discrepency between the group ideology and the reality. Through this process other characteristics of groups ideologies, as defined in Chapter II (Theoretical Considerations: The Nature of Group Ideology and Its Relation to Policy Formation) will be seen.

The basic premises discussed in this chapter were gathered through a review of the available federal documents pertaining to status Indian people and to the federal educational system developed for them. The documents in question were of four types: legislative documents, administrative documents, report documents, and information documents.

Legislative documents are those documents that have been accepted into federal law. Included here are the British North America Act, the five Indian Acts and their amendments, and miscellaneous historical documents dating before the turn of the century. Administrative documents are those documents which represent what Daniels (Daniels 1973) defines as subordinate legislation. Subordinate legislation derives from powers delegated by both the Parliament and the Legislatures, and, therefore, comprises the working documents and administrivia of the federal government. (Daniels 1973: 21-22). This category includes the various policy statements issued by the government, Treasury Board Minutes, Orders in Council, Indian Affairs letters and administrative statements, Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Indian

Affairs and Northern Development, letters from the Minister of Indian Affairs to Indian organizations, and the treaties between the Indian peoples and the various governments. Treaties were added to this grouping simply because they have never been accepted into Canadian law, yet represent the delegation of authority by governments.

Report documents are very straight forward, consisting of government initiated Reports such as the Hawthorn report of 1966, consultation meeting reports, and other miscellaneous reports of the federal government. Similarly, information documents are clear cut. These federally produced documents include straight information for the public, public relations oriented documents like The Meeting of the Ways: Learning for Earning 1961, and speech texts. It is obvious that some of these categories are not mutually exclusive, but it is hoped that they serve the purpose of organizing the documents utilized in this thesis in a manner sensible to the reader.

As noted above, the nature of the group ideology of Indian education was derived by a review of these federal documents. (The time period covered by the review ends at 1973.) Consistently reappearing themes, ideas, topics (and omission of topics) and attitudes were pulled out and codified into a system of premises, reflecting the official view of the nature of Indians, "Indian problems", and Native educational needs. It is important to keep in mind that this chapter is not a straight content analysis of federal documents, but is an attempt to get at the underlying themes within those documents. The basic premises which emerged through this process were:

1. A paternalistic approach towards Indian people
2. The "integration", or "assimilation" of Native peoples into mainstream Canadian society.

3. An administrative/bureaucratic approach to Indian needs.

The format of the chapter is a presentation of each of the premises, combined with a discussion of areas of stress upon the premises. It is hoped that by the end of the chapter it will be clear that there is an "internally consistent, self-sufficient" way of viewing Native education by the government and its employees, and that this system is struggling to adjust to a changing reality by adjusting to this change when forced to do so, while maintaining the basic premises of the system.

A Paternalistic Approach Towards Native People

A simple dictionary definition of the word "paternalism" expresses this concept:

> The care or control of a country, community, group of employees, etc. in a manner suggestive of a father looking after his children. (Harcourt, Brace, and World Standard College Dictionary, New York, 1957: 488)

Paternalism is a concept steming from the development of the historical and economic relations between the Indians and the agents of Western society. Once the relationship between governments and Native peoples ceased to be one of equality, officials of European society took it upon themselves to serve as parents, or guardians, of the local natives. By the time of Confederation the pattern was well established, and after Confederation the government

> ... undertook to educate the Indian for his new role and to act, as it were, in loco parentis during the transition period (Until the Indians were integrated into the wider society). (Canada, History of Government, R32/2469/1: 5)

The desire to "protect the Indians" and to assume responsibility for their welfare is a common thread that runs through all acts, treaties and policy statements. An unnamed civil sergant wrote to the Deputy Minister of Education on December 1, 1918:

> Re the Indian student, Clifford Tobias, I beg to say that his academic standing might be sufficient, especially if his term standing in High School were uniformly good. But he could not teach them Horticulture and Agriculture. I would not advise putting any Indian in charge of an Indian school. These children require to have the 'Indian' educated out of them, which only a white teacher can help to do. It would be much better to select a white, returned soldier of equal or higher attainments, and make an effort to provide a home for him on the Indian Reserve near the school. An Indian is always and only an Indian and has not the social, moral and intellectual standing required to elevate these Indian children, who are quite capable of improvement. (Quoted in Daniels 1973: 204)

Paternalism most frequently expresses itself in government documents in one of two interrelated ways. Firstly, it is assumed that Indians are inferior to other Canadians. Secondly, if Native peoples are inferior it is suitable for the government to handle their affairs for them.

In the first regard, little attention is paid to the traditional native educational system, and when it is mentioned it is usually in an off-handed or deprecatory manner. To illustrate the Standing Committee Report for 1971 spent one paragraph dealing with the traditional educational system, discussing it in the context of vacations. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, issue 27: 10).

The older Hawthorn Report was more negative in its assessment of the traditional Native educational system:

> It is more likely that in many cases the Indian parents prefer to lavish on their children an 'Indian style' education, out of contempt for the White man's education. (Hawthorn 1966, vol. 2: 47)

As little attention is paid to the traditional educational system, little attention is given to the Indian cultural base. Like education, what attention is given is usually of a negative nature, the suppostion being that the Indian culture is inadequate in the modern world, and, consequently, subject to change from the outside. In fact, Indians are sometimes seen as having little or not culture at all. Discussion in the Standing Committee on Indian Affairs in 1971 centered on the problem of teaching Native children their "culture", and of stimulating "pride in one's culture and background". The feeling was that curriculum changes would take care of the situation. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971 Issue 27: 5-6). Another example of the alleged inferiority and incompetency of Indian peoples to manage their affairs appears in the following quote from the Field Manual of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development:

> Training the Indian adult to assume a measure of responsibility in running the affairs of his community is today one of the most important duties of the field staff. (Canada, Field Manual 1962: section 11.02)

After establishing that Native people are culturally inferior it is an easy step to rationalize the managing of their affairs.

> It (the federal government) considers it has a special responsibility for the well being of Indian people, even to the extent of managing many of their affairs. (Canada, History of Government, R32-2469/1: 5)

At this point the relationship between reality and ideology becomes especially clear. The ideology altered the reality, and then validated itself on the basis of that altered reality. In other words, after dominating the Indian culture, the federal government took over its decision-making process; in turn, the denial of their right to determine their own lives has often created a condition in which Indians really cannot manage their own affairs. The government then expects Indians to fail in their endeavors, and once again steps into the decision-making role. (Harding 1971: 245).

> The government seems to expect the Indian to fail, indeed, sometimes seems almost disappointed if he doesn't. (Cardinal 1969: 70)

The federal government is always present, and willing to make decisions and offer assistance as it sees fit.

> There are many indications, including experience in other programs, of the readiness of select bands to assume responsibility for the administration of post school services. (Dewar, Letter, 1972: 2)

Who has seen these indications? Who allows the responsibility to be given? How are post school services determined? A further example is

> The challenge is to turn the new policy into changed programs which are of real value to the Indian people. It is the Band Councils who must initiate the changes, and decide what to do in education and when to take over an education program ..... Whatever course of action you finally decide on, my Department is ready to assist in negotiations, to continue to fund programs at existing levels and to provide the necessary training for Band members to take responsibility in the education area. (Chretien, Letter, 1973: 2)

Why does the Department continue to see itself involved in negotiations, funding, and training?

The point to be made here is that external pressures from Indian peoples, are pushing the government to rephrase and realign its operation, yet the basic philosophy remains the same -- the Department of Indian Affairs is still operating from a paternalistic stance when it refuses to shift real responsibility and authority to Indian people. It sees itself, and rightly so, as the body with the power to allow, and therefore control, change.

Natives are under-represented in the spheres of policy formulation and implementation. (Borovoy 1971: 214). For example

> ... the government has set up an 'economic development fund' of some $50 million. Obviously we want to get that money under local control. Band councils have submitted lists of thoroughly researched proposals, in consultation with professional economic advisers, for using the money for our own economic development. No dice. The industries that have gotten federal support, set up on reserve land, have employed no more than a token number of Indians in skilled or managerial positions. The department just cannot conceive of an Indian being able to run his own show. (Manual undated: 4)

As discussed in Chapter IV (The Contemporary Period), consultation on the government's White Paper on Indian Policy and its implications for

Indian people was minimal, and the results were unheeded. Similarly, the document most affecting Native peoples, the Indian Act, was written by government officials, and covers nearly all aspects of daily existence for Indians. To illustrate, topics included are the definition of Indian status, the division of reserves and funds, sale of Indian produce, surrender of land to the Crown, descent of property, guardianship, management of Indian money, powers of the band council, enfranchisement, and schools. These issues are raised and answered, not by Indians, but by officials of the federal government.

For example, since the shift from denominational schools to joint schools in the early 1950's, Native people have been little involved in the decisions of education.

> Indians have never been involved in their own education. Your government had contracts with the religious institutions to supply education for Indian people, with no Indian involvement. And when the time came and you felt that religious institutions could handle it, your government went to provincial governments, without any input, and made agreements with the provincial government in isolation from Indian people. From Indian parents, whose children have to live with the day-to-day hardships, day-to-day discrimination. This is what our people are faced with.
> (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, November 25: 25).

Indian involvement has generally consisted of consenting, or not consenting to having their children sent to integrated schools, and participating on the school committees established by the federal government. These committees have responsibility for such non-substantive areas as truancy, maintenance of the physical plant, sports programs, et. al. (Canada, Field Manual, 1962: Chapter II, Appendix A).

By Order in Council and Treasury Board Minute the Blue Quills Native Education Council was permitted to take over the student residence and in-school education programs. (Order in Council, P.C. 1970-2/2177, issued December 22, 1970 and Treasury Board Minutes 715958, November 23, 1972). This means that the Blue Quills Native Education Council has responsibility for handling the administration of tuition payments to provincial school boards, the employment of teachers, the management of educational assistance programs, the handling of education allowances to students, the provision of seasonal transportation, the operation of the student residences, and the responsibility for social counselling services. Progressive as this situation appears, it must be kept in mind that the Blue Quills School receives federal funding and as such is functioning within acceptable bounds, for if it were not, that funding would cease. Again pressure of sufficient force to initiate change was applied, and the government moved, yet the group ideology held has not been altered at the premises level -- ultimate veto power still remains with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In some senses it could be said that the child has a bigger allowance, but the father still feels it is his paternal obligation to pay the allowance and keep an eye on how it is spent.

The recent government announcements which, theoretically, turn education over to the Indian people continue to smack of paternalism (as does the Blue Quills situation) in their conception and implementation. As Chretien announced in his speech of May, 1973, "Appropriate authority has already been obtained to transfer education programs to Indian Bands". (Chretien, Speech, May, 1973: 4). Again there is a catch whch points to the maintenance of the group ideology: the fact of the transfer and the mechanism for its enactment were developed without consultation with Native peoples or their representatives.

> ... The Treasury Board Minute was not only passed before the formal request of the N.I.B. was made, but its terms and conditions were not the subject of consultation with either Indian Bands or Indian Associations. (All Chiefs Conference, 1973: 17)

How much change can be pushed out of this, and other similar circumstances remains to be seen. What is certain, however, is that it is unlikely that real control over education will shift to Indian communities in the absence of a shift of financial control, and, thus, power. It does not appear that such shifts are close at hand. As noted in Deputy Secretary Kroeger's letter of November 27, 1972:

> Approval of contributions to any particular band will be subject to conditions similar to those set forth for post-school services ... (Kroeger, letter, November 27, 1972: 3)

These conditions include the pre-approval by the Department of a written program, involvement in a government sponsored training program for those who intend to run the education program, budgeting restrictions, submissions to a financial audit, and a performance evaluation, as well as the final catch-all[1] that:

> Contributions will be subject to regulations and conditions as established from time to time regarding the administration of the contributions to bands program.
> (Kroeger, letter, November 27, 1972: 3).

Paternalism is one of the basic premises of the group ideology of Indian education. It arose out of the development of the historical and economic relations between White and Indian society, and continues to operate in the group ideology at present. What is significant is that the group ideology and its reality are becoming increasingly disjointed as a result of pressure being applied by Indian organizations across Canada. This slippage of reality and ideology is creating a situation in which the words and style of government documents are changing, but actions are not changing at the same rate.

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[1] It is interesting to note that this phrase is very similar to the one in most Treaties which makes Indians subject to any regulations deemed necessary by the Crown.

The Integration of Native People into Canadian Society

As far back as the "administrative period" the question of "what to do" with the local Indians was being answered, not in terms of the needs or wishes of the Indians themselves, but in terms of expediency to the wider society. The answer to the question in the 1830's was to seek to ultimately make the Indian part of the wider society when he was ready, and to initially "protect" him from that society -- that is, create manageable groups of Indians in physically circumscribed areas. (Canada, History of Government, R32-2469/1: 4). Once Indian people were suitably adjusted to being members of a complex society, subject to the rules of that society, they were to be encouraged to move from the reserves and to "fend for themselves" as best they could. The closing down of the reserve system was to signal the end of the government's responsibility for the well being of Native peoples.

> The traditional argument for the assimilation of Indian peoples has always begun with the belief that the way of life that European man called 'progress' was not only good but inevitable for all mankind ... the trend in the future may be in exactly the opposite direction. (Manual 1974: 252)

The concept of reduced obligations to the Indian people of Canada through their integration into Canadian society is basic to the contemporary group ideology. The premise is expressed in various ways, as the following quotations indicate, but the core is always the incorporation of Indian people into the society around them, or, as the Administration of Indian Affairs states, "... the integration of the Indian in Canadian life, and the opening up of the reserves to the outside world". The Hawthorn Report states:

> By integration of the Indians, we mean their full participation in the economic and social life of Canada, together with the retention of some of their cultural characteristics such as pride or origin, knowledge of their history, passing on of their

> history, passing on of their traditions and preservation of their language. (Hawthorn, 1966, Vol. II: 28 - Emphasis added)

Likewise, the History of Government reads

> The goal has always been to bring Indian people into Canadian life as full citizens of their country, sharing the responsibilities and the privileges that go with this status.
> (Canada, History of Government, R32-2469/1: 5)

The government's 1969 White Paper, entitled Indian Policy, takes a slightly different approach, but the emergent premise is the same -- the blending of Indian and non-Indian society.

> The Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and non-discriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. (Canada, Indian Policy, 1969: 5)

It is clear that government phraseology, as with the phraseology of paternalism, has changed. It is not longer acceptable to express the concept as it was enunciated in Meeting of the Ways:

> ... we may confidently look forward to a time in the not very far future when the reservations, which, in spite of all their faults, literally saved the Indian race from extinction, will no longer be needed.
> (Canada, The Meeting of the Ways: 1961: 10)

In spite of the development of terminology and increased verbal sophistication, the premise remains unaltered; pressure has necessitated a change in packaging, but the product has not been modified ... yet.

To further illustrate the shift in official terminology, it is helpful to look at the words "assimilation" and "integration". "Assimilation" carries a connotation of loss of culture and absorption into another society; "integration" is a gentler process of incorporation into another society. Since the early 1960's government documents have avoided use of the term "assimilation", yet the thinking behind the words has not yet made the distinction clear. In the mid-1960's it was still appropriate for the Hawthorn Report to state that

> This philosophy, however, displays several flaws or ommissions and ambiguities ... This makes it difficult to distinguish between a policy of integration and a policy of assimilation, which allows the loss of the basic cultural values of the integrated ethnic group. (Hawthorn, 1966, Vol. II: 41)

That the fuzzy distinction between "assimilaton" and "integration" remains in the 1970's is indicated by the concern of native organizations:

> Federal government policies have been consciously aimed at the integration of Treaty Indian peoples but, practically speaking, these policies are having the effect of assimilating the people. (Indian Association of Alberta 1973: [illegible])

The use of "assimilation" vs. "integration" is, indeed, a question of semantics ... and that is precisely the point. A group ideology will adjust externals where required to do so, but will maintain its basic premises for as long as possible.

Another important characteristic of the premise of integration is what may be called its one-way nature. This means that it is the Indian who does most of the adjusting when the two cultures come into contact. This fact is well illustrated by the literature dealing specifically with education. It is pointed out frequently that the Indian child does not "fit" into White schools on his native background alone, for he lacks the skills and knowledge held by White children. It is then up to the child to remedy these deficiencies.

> ... there has been a tendency for administrators involved in Indian education to tackle problems ordinarily on the basis of attempting to fit the Indian parent or the Indian child to the situation. (Daniels 1973: 276)

Former Minister Chretien inadvertently summed up well the one-way nature of integration when he titled an article Why an Old Indian Pattern Was Broken. The group ideology sees the "Indian problem", not as interactional, but as arising from the inadequacies of Native culture in coping with the "necessary" and "inevitable" accomodations to Western culture.

In its 1769 statement Indian Policy the federal government listed what it felt were the "prerequisites for integration". These were

1. That the legislative and constitutional basis of discrimination be removed
2. That there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life
3. That services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians
4. That those who are furthest behind be helped most
5. That lawful obligations be recognized
6. That control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people.

The major message here is that by deeming it so, Native society will become fully incorporated into Canadian society. Integration is seen as one of the pass keys for ending the "Indian problem".

If integration is a key to the solution of the "Indian problem", then education is the key to Native integration. This integrative function of education emphasizes language and vocational training. What is significant about language programs is that they stress the acquisition of appropriate linguistic patterns without, necessarily, the acquisition of the associated cultural patterns. Without the appropriate cultural associations, it is very difficult for Indian children to respond appropriately to Western educational systems. For example,

> Recent studies of North American Indian education problems have indicated that in many ways Indian children are not culturally oriented to the ways in which classroom learning is conducted. (Phillips 1970: 77)

Similarly, attempts are made to teach English to Indian children without the proper attention being given to their local linguistic situations.

Both Phillips (Phillips 1970) and Darnell (Darnell 1971) have indicated the complexity of Native linguistic conditions. The construct of language programs exemplifies the fact that the group ideology of Native education represents a partial reality.

More importance is placed upon vocational training for Indian students than upon academic, or college preparatory training. The group ideology holds that academic courses are less practical than are vocational courses in the integration of Indian people. A distinction is made, for example, in the Hawthorn Report between "Academic and Practical Courses". The training provided tends to direct Indian children into areas of "personal service" such as cosmetology and housekeeping; agricultural labour; and primary and unskilled labour. (See Table 1.) Another direction of the vocational training programs is the training of Native people for jobs in resource industries.

> Both Territorial governments place a high priority on the education and training of Indians and Eskimos for jobs in the resource industries and we are working closely with them on these programs. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 17: 10)

It appears that Native people are being trained to provide labor for the exploitation of northern resources, with little provision for their participation in the decision-making aspects of such exploitation. At the time of this writing Native organizations are strongly questioning the direction of the development of Northern resources. The results of this action will likely affect the nature of vocational training for Northern Indian peoples.

Integration, like paternalism, is one of the basic premises of the group ideology of Indian education. It too arose out of the development of the historical and economic relations between Native and White society, and it too continues to operate in the group ideolgoy of the present. With the rise of Indian movements across Canada the premise has been threatened, and adjustments in the ideology have had to be made. Although stress continues to be placed on the group ideology of Indian education, the premise of integration still continues to operate, and continues to be reflected in government documents and pronouncements.

An Administrative/Bureaucratic Approach to Indian Needs

Before making specific comments about the administrative, or bureaucratic, approach basic to the group ideology of Indian education, it would be instructive to establish a few theoretical points to serve as a basis of the discussion. The first is definitional: what is a bureaucratic structure?

> A formal, rationally organized social structure involves clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organization. In such an organization there is integrated a series of offices, of hierarchized statuses, in which inhere a number of obligations and privileges closely defined by limited and specific rules. Each of these offices contains an area of imputed competence and responsibility. Authority, the power of control which derives from an acknowledged status, inheres in the office and not in the particular person who performs the official role. (Merton 1957: 195).

The outstanding points, for the purposes of this discussion, are that a bureaucracy comprises a hierarcial organization bound by formalized rules of operation and obligation. A bureaucracy, thus, consists of a chain of units arranged one above the other through which the decision-making process is diffused. This means that a decision made at the upper echelons of the organization is reinterpreted by successive layers of officials much in the fashion of the proverbial rumor.

In order to prevent the organization from flying apart at its various levels in this reinterpretive process, the structure exerts a pressure for maintaining predictable behavior on the part of officials.

The results of this pressure for reliability appear in the formalization of behavior within the bureaucracy. Formalization establishes a set of rules, or expectations, that reduce the possibility of overly individualistic, "unofficial" actions. At the same time formalization establises a

> ... system of prescribed relations between the various offices involv(ing) ... clearly defined social distance between the occupants of these positions. (Merton 1957: 195)

Such rules of behavior, therefore, reduce the potential ambiguities and frictions of interpersonal relations which could ultimatley render the organization non-functional or dysfunctional.

One outcome of the channelling of official activity concerns the sentiments generated by the ongoing process of formalization of behavior. To maintain this kind of discipline requires that individuals have some devotion to duty and some sense of one's position within the chain of authority. The internalization of these values generally leads to the situation on which deviation from the established standard is met by resistance and possibly hostility from fellow members of the bureaucracy. Thus, the structure produces behavior which reinforces the nature of the structure.

The aspects of bureaucracy discussed above have several implications, many of which center on a structurally imposed rigidity or conservatism. Firstly, job tenure, graded careers and the social reinforcement of acceptable official behavior often "protect(s) the incapable and promote(s) the cautious" (Levine 1972: 140) Veblen's concept of "trained incapacity" obtains. That is, abilities functional in a past context tend to be utilized in the present context, promoting inadequate flexibility and poor job performance.

Secondly, the adherence to rules required if the organization is to remain viable may lead to what may be termed the "displacement of the original objectives" of the bureaucracy. Put more simply, the "means" can become the "ends" of the organization. As displacement occurs routine, rather than creative, performance becomes commonplace, and resistance to the change of established routines obviates the development of innovative, problem-oriented structures.

Routinization of behavior both leads to and reinforces the tendency to generalize experience on the part of bureaucrats. That is, with pressures to produce, and pressures to produce in a consistent manner, individual differences are minimized. To each situation is applied a standard treatment. Interestingly, the converse also applies; there are pressures to implement policies within a specific situation. What develops, then, is a form of pragmatism that reduces both policy and individual circumstances to a denominator amenable to repeated, superficially successful application. This characteristic is exemplified by interactions of bureaucratic personnel and the public. As Merton notes

> ... the bureaucrat is trained to be impersonal ... this is in conflict with the desires to be treated personally by the individuals. Further, situations are categorized from the general rules. (Merton 1957: 202)

Yet, on the other hand, as individual representatives of the public -- the client -- confront the bureaucrat he adjusts policy to reach the solution most efficient in official eyes, to the problem presented.

Lastly, for the moment, are the allied notions of expansion and conservation as structural implications of a bureaucratic organization. Built in stability strengthens the trend toward preservation of the organization for preservations' sake, as both the organization and its personnel become increasingly entrenched within that aspect of society in which the bureaucratic organization functions. Further, as part of the process of self-preservation, functionaries press for the expansion of the organization. (Levine 1972: 158). After time, bureaucracies often follow Parkinson's Law -- they grow for the sake of growing.

The position of the policy-maker within the bureaucratic structure is not as simple to evaluate as that of the career bureaucrat. This condition is so primarily because the policy-maker is most frequently an elected official or an official appointed through the political system. Although the policy-maker comes from without the system he must still function within its confines, and certain of the structural restrictions of the bureaucracy are of immediate importance to him in his capacity as a fomulator of official policy.

Firstly, and most obviously, any policy decision is subject to the pre-existing rules of the organization. The policy must be administered, and administration occurs in a bureaucratic setting, with officials as its agents. The policy, therefore, meets with the daily structural problems of misinterpretation, etc. mentioned above, and the gap between conception and implementation of a given policy may be very wide, indeed.

As previously noted,

> ... a bureaucratic operation ... is one in which most of the black boxes are connected in series so that any error, misinterpretation, or deviation will be multiplied and magnified throughout the system. (Levine 1972: 138)

This problem of reinterpretation operates not only from top to bottom, but can work as well from bottom to top, and can effect the information which reaches the policy maker through bureaucratic channels. The lines of communication, between the policy making level and those that provide information, may, themselves, be blocked; or information may be distorted, for one reason or another, as it passes from level to level. Relevant data may be stopped at one level on its way up the chain; or the policy-maker may be swamped with quantities of information which may be releveant, irrelevant, intelligible, or unintelligible, interesting or uninteresting to the policy-maker who must use it in his formulations. (Merton 1957: 224). The result of the information lag is the predicament in which the developers of official policy must work without a complete, or often accurate, conception of the situation under consideration.

An extension of the distortion of information moving in bureaucratic channels appears with the problem of secrecy. Once a policy has been established it is often seen necessary to prevent the basis of the decisions from becoming common knowledge. As Merton states

> Bureaucracy is administration which almost completely avoids public discussion of its techniques, although there may occur public discussion of its policies. (Merton 1957: 197)

This phenomenon occurs, in all probability, as a self-preservation mechanism. It is seen necessary to prevent the provision of information to competitors, whether another department or political party.

As well as being constricted by the bureaucratic structure, the policy-maker may find himself in conflict with the bureaucracy over goals as well as procedures. Not being a long term member of the body his whole definition of what the organization should be doing and how it should be done is formed upon different premises. Such value differences may result in friction between policy-makers and the members of their department that can further interfere with policy action.

If policy determining official does not owe his allegiance to his department, he usually owes it to the organization which placed him in office. It is that organization which finally defines the nature of decision-making jobs and the questions to be handled within the job as they relate to the policy maker. What this means is that the policy formulator is not a free agent; what he may and may not do within his job is determined, in large part, by his position within a political system founded upon the bureaucracy as its primary mechanism of operation. This leaves the policy-maker in a situation in which his parameters are formed both from above and below. His autonomy or lack thereof is tied into the nature of the structure developed in response to the imperatives of the economic system in which that structure opeates.

Although the above noted characteristics and forces strive for rigidity and conformity to the values and rules of the organization, it must not be assumed that change cannot occur within the system of a bureaucracy. Change can, and does occur, largely along the edges of the system, away from the center of the bureaucracy where the influence of conservative bureaucratic forces are often diluted. Towards the extremities of the bureaucracy, as well, bureaucrats are in closer touch with local realities and are called upon to make decisions and to act in ways which satisfy immediate pressures brought to bear by clients as well as which satisfy bureaucratic pressures. To reiterate, change certainly can take place in a bureaucratic structure, but the nature of the structure presses for consistency of behavior by bureaucrats largely through pressure upon the individual bureaucrat to conform to the standards of the organization. The ultimate sanction which can be brought against the non-conforming bureaucrat is, of course, expulsion from the organization.

A summary of the preceeding remarks on bureaucracies makes the following points:

1) The structure of a bureaucracy is such that those conditions creating efficiency in operation may ultimately lead to inefficiency. Such conditions are pressures for predictable behavior, generalization of experience, modification of policy, etc.
2) There are structural tendencies for maintenance and expansion of the organization which demand time of officials that could be spent in other capacities. Additionally, the preservation and growth of bureaucracies, generally, can lead to the continuation of outmoded organizations and approaches.
3) There is little room for critical self-evaluation within the bureaucracy. Inadequacies and premises are not recognized or examined.
4) The policy-maker must function within the bureaucratic system, with all of its faults and restrictions.
5) Conflict between the policy-maker and the other officials within a bureaucratic organization may arise from their different perspectives and goals. These differences are generated from the fact that the policy-maker is most often an outsider, appointed or elected to his position.
6) Bureaucrats have their loyalties bound up within their organization; the policy-maker has external obligations. Neither one is completely free to define their own problems.
7) Although the bureaucratic structure tends towards conservatism, change can and does take place, largely along the edges of the bureaucracy.

With these points in mind it should become clear that the nature of Canadian Indian policy has been profoundly affected by its connection over the years with governmental bureaucracies. The official bureaucracy at present is, of course, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, headed by the politically appointed minister of Indian groups and Northern Development. Some examples of the bureaucratic response of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to Indian problems and policy will be given below. What should be kept in mind, though, is the fact that because of its bureaucratic, as well as political and economic, bounds, Indian policy has been more stagnant than dynamic, and more tradition bound than imaginative. When speaking of the school structure and the achievement of its objectives, the Hawthorn Report states

> ... When such an instrument begins to require so much attention from the officials working within the structure that they have little time or energy to wonder whether the system makes it possible to progress toward the ultimate objective, it is to be feared that in time officials will be more concerned with keeping the system going than with progress.
> (Hawthorn 1966, Vol. 2: 83).

The Bureaucratic Response Within the Department of Indian Affairs

Given the fact that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development is a bureaucracy with a long tradition, in function if not in name, it is not at all surprising that a basic premise to be found in the government documents produced by that department is the acceptance of a bureaucratic approach in dealings with Indian people. The nature of the bureaucracy, as defined in the previous section, has affected and continues to affect the way Indian Affairs personnel see and understand Native educational needs. There are numerous expressions of this administrative approach to Native education programs to be seen in government documents, four varients of which will be discussed. These are

1) The generalization of Indian People

2) The mechanical manipulation of elements within education programs

3) The use of the North American model of education

The Generalization of Indian People

It was noted above that routinization of behavior both leads to and reinforces the tendency to generalize experience on the part of those who work within a bureaucracy. This condition certainly prevails within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and, as a result, this generalization of experience forms part of the premise of an administrative approach towards Indian affairs. The outcome of this generalization of experience is a strong tendency to treat all Native people as if they are culturally and economically similar -- a clear misinterpretation of the situation as it exists. This attitude towards Indian peoples is most plainly expressed in the definition of an "Indian" to be found in the *Indian Act*. It reads as follows:

> 'Indian' means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian. (Canada, Indian Act, 1970: 6-7)

Turning to the section "Definition and Registration of Indians" one finds that a person is "entitled to register as an Indian" if:

> 11 (1) Subject to section 12, a person is entitled to be registered if that person
> (a) On the 26th day of May 1874 was, for the Purposes of *An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the Management of Indian and Ordinance Lands* ... considered to be entitled to hold, use or enjoy the lands and other immovable property belonging to or appropriated to the use of the various tribes, bands or bodies of Indians in Canada;
> (b) is a member of a band ...
> (c) is a male person who is a direct descendant in the male line of a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b);
> (d) is the legitimate child of
>   (i) a male person described in paragraph (a) or (b), or
>   (ii) a person described in paragraph (c);

> (e) is the illegitimate child of a female person described in paragraph (a), (b), (c), (d), or (e).
> (Canada, Indian Act, 1970: 6-7)

The Indian Act is careful to go on to exclude a person who

> (i) has received or has been allotted half-breed lands or money scrip.
> (ii) is a descendant of a person described in subparagraph (i),
> (iii) is enfranchised, or
> (iv) is a person born of a marriage entered into after the 4th day of September 1951 and has attained the age of twenty-one years, whose mother and whose fatehr's mother are not persons described in paragraph II (i) (a), (b) or (d) or entitled to be registered by virtue of paragraph II (1) (e), unless being a woman, that person is the wife or widow of a person described in section II, and (b) a woman who married a person who is not an Indian, unless that woman is subsequently the wife or widow of a person described in section II.
> (Canada, Indian Act, 1970: 7)

It should be considered that

> The definition of an Indian under Canada's Indian Act is the strictest and narrowest definition of a native person in any county in in the world. It is a definition that has been made narrower and stricter with the passage of time. (Manual 1974: 241)

After having satisfied the above noted requirements, an "Indian" may have his name entered on the Band Lists or General Lists maintained by the Department. The sum of all of this legalism is that the Department has so standardized its treatment of Native people that not only does it act towards Indians in a paternalistic and bureaucratic manner, it decides, on the basis of general rules, who is an Indian in the first place. In other words, the federal government has defined those persons to be classed as "Indian", and from there has determined what the nature and characteristics of those people are to be.

The Mechanical Manipulation of Elements Within Education Programs

A standard manner of viewing change by the administrator is the reshuffling of elements within the system. The inertia and conservatism within the bureaucratic structure work against the development of new solutions to perceived problems. This approach exists within the group ideology of those working within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. When difficulties in education programs are officially recognized, the written response involves

> ... Attempts to change the attitudes and outlook of communities and teachers; altering the curriculum; adding to the program of teacher training; altering some aspects of classroom operation; instituting special kindergartens, nursery schools and remedial classes. (Hawthorn 1966, Vol. 2: 8)

For example

> If any real progress is going to be made in improving the educational system serving Indian and Eskimo people, it is elementary that we start with a reform of the teacher training programs required of those teachers and who teach Indian and Eskimo children. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 27: 16)

Or, it may be that a superficial analysis of the situation is adequate to permit the dismissal of the question. It is, for example, more important to be able to state that Indian children are physically present in school than to question what is happening in that classroom.

> Ten years ago the problem was getting students enrolled in school. Today it is keeping students in High School. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 17: 6)

These efforts are, at best, fine as far as they go, but do not at any point question the sources of educational problems. They are simply tinkering with the structure as it is. Neither are the basic questions asked: should those children be in High School? Who should decide? Who should train them? How? The constricts of the bureaucratic structure have limited the problem solving abilities of those within the structure, and have reinforced a restructuring of the status quo.

The North American Model of Education

> The present education is not Indian. It is the white man's education imposed on Indians. (All Chief's Conference, 1973: 19)

To date in the government documents there is no serious discussion of the possibility of Indian people developing an Indian centered educational system. What is tacitly assumed is that what is theoretically good for the non-Indian child is theoretically good for the Indian child. (Whether or not the Canadian educational system is even meeting the needs of non-Indian children is debatable.) Certain alterations are made, as with a group ideology, to make the system at all functional, however, the underlying assuption of the validity of the North American model of education is unquestioned.

It is also basic to the group ideology that children from all cultures learn in the same manner, that education to be effective must be competitive and teacher-centered, and that education must take place within a "stable organizational structure". (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, issue 27: 9-10). There is a

> ... heavy reliance upon attempting to adapt the European model of education to the Indian child without sufficient realization of his particular cultural needs. (Daniels 1973: 276)

To illustrate, teachers report that Indian children are generally reluctant to talk in class, and that they participate less and less in verbal interaction as they go through school. (Phillips 1970: 78)

> ... Indian children fail to participate verbally in classroom interaction because the social conditions for participating to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking. The absence of these appropriate social conditions for communicative performances affect the most common and everyday speech acts which occur in the classroom. If the Indian child fails to follow an order or answer a question, it may not be because he doesn't understand the linguistic structure of the imperative and the interrogative, but rather because he does not share the non-Indian's assumption in such contexts that use of these syntactic forms by definition implies an automatic and immediate response from the person to whom they were addressed. For these assumptions are socio-linguistic assumptions which are not shared by the Indians. (Phillips 1970: 95)

In spite of the availability of such information, the bureaucratic response continues to press for the maintenance of a Western style educational system for Native children. In fact, the underlying assumption of the value of this kind of educational system is used to support the assumption that integration is central to Indian affairs.

> The value of the integrated schools program is its attempt to raise the level of education and to offer to young Indians the same academic advantages enjoyed by Canadian students ... In this way, the young Indian can continue his studies to the level he desires. (Hawthorn 1966, Vol 2: 65-66)

With official thinking confied to such channels, there is little chance for the development of new approaches to the education of Indian children by government. Such developments will have to stimulated by thinking outside of the administration sphere. The provervial passing-of-the-buck via Native administration of existing educational programs is little better than the current system.

> ... there is no point in Indians taking control and responsibility for Indian education unless they also have the power to change that education to a form that is more desirable and which meets the needs of Indian students.
> (All Chiefs Conference 1973: 18)

The Quantitative and Budgetary Approach

A further example of the bureaucratic approach to Native education is the reliance upon numerical analysis. Numbers are quoted and manipulated in the rationalization of various actions. The process can easily become tautological. and is similar to the use of circular reasoning discussed in Chapte II (Theoretical Considerations). The concept is also closely related to the idea of mechanical manipulation of elements mentioned earlier.

As an example, it has been stated in several documents that much of the failure of school programs can be traced to the teaching staff.

> The unsatisfactory results from the Federal Schools are at least in part traceable to the inadequacies in the teacher training programs of the teachers presently serving the Federal Schools. (Canada, Standing Committee 1971, Issue 27: 16)

The official solution to the problem is to require more course work from old and new teachers, going on the quantitative principle that "the more the better". Again, premises are not being evaluated, and basic questions are not asked.

The following quote provides another example of the quantitative approach:

> The Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has measured its success in the field of Indian education by a comparison with the past. (100 students at the secondary school level in 1947 as compared to 7,000 approximately in 1969).
> (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 27: 3)

Quantity equals quality. Are children learning simply because they are present in a school? What, in fact, are they learning? Were they learning "more" under a traditional Indian education system? Less? These questions are not asked within the government system, but are posed from without.

> While these increases are significant in terms of the total number of Indian students involved, severe criticism of the effectiveness of the education for Indian students at these grade levels have been made by many Indian parents and organizations. They stress that the 'drop-out' statistics (approximately 92% of students entering Grade 1 do not graduate from Grade 12) indicate the extent of the frustration which still faces Indian students in secondary schools.
> (Daniels 1973: footnote 79)

Closely tied in with the formula of quality equals quantity is the utilization of a budgetary criteria when dealing with the human issues of native education. The quotations below should serve to illustrate the contradictory use to which a budgetary argument is put.

Firstly, the Indian people must prove themselves to be, essentially, a good business risk. In former Minister Chretien's words,

> We seek to end paternalism and to provide the full measure of freedom for bands, groups and individual Indian people to prove that the investment is justified.
> (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 17: 7)

Then, it is argued that questions of funding prevent the establishment of many programs. To again quote former Minister Chretian,

> We would like to do more of the good things we are asked to do. We have to face the facts of limited resources and of limited effectiveness of some expenditures.
> (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 17: 7)

Budgetary constraints (quantity) have also been used to lend credence to integration and the transfer to the provinces of Indian affairs.

> It is because of the financial spectre represented by the administration of reserves that the Indian Affairs Branch is putting all of its hope into the integration of Indians with the provincial populations. (Hawthorn 1966, Vol. 2: 88)

An interesting use of the quantitative approach can be seen in the response of the government to pressures brought to bear by Native organizations. The message is that if we pour more money into the same containter the problems are on the road to solutions. To illustrate,

> (The increase in funds for Native programs) ... is a clear indication of the Government's determination to deal effectively with problems which have beset the Indian people for so long. (Canada, Standing Committee, 1971, Issue 17: 6)

In a slight aside, funding is, of course, a means of maintaining control over Indian initiated education programs. As discussed above, a band which does not, for example, meet the government determined restrictions under the contributions to Bands Program will not have funds turned over to it for educational use -- the federal or provincial governments will continue to run existing educational programs. Even if the management of the education system were given to bands, there would be no guarantee of funds adequate to run these programs. The following letters make this point clear:

> It was understood that this (the handling of management to Indian bands) is an extension of the Contributions of Bands Program, whereby Indian Bands would assume responsibility for post school education services which are now administered by your Department; this would merely involve a transfer of management of funds, and no additional funds will be requested. (Dewar, Letter, 1972: 1)

Likewise

> It is also noted that the extension of authorities involves only a change in the administration of funds and that no additional funds are required. (Kroeger, Letter, 1972: 1)

It is the opinion of may Indian leaders that there would be less money available for Native education after such transfers took place.

> ... there is no point in Indian Bands taking the responsibility for Indian education if they are not guaranteed at the same time the money necessary to fulfill that resposibility. (All Chief's Conference, 1973: 18)

In sum, the quantitative approach to Indian education as expressed in government documents is closely related to the other forms of the bureaucratic response -- the generalization of Indian people, the mechanical manipulation of elements of the present system, and the acceptance of the North American education. All of these responses serve to maintain the system as it is, limit the development of creative solutions to the many problems with Native education programs, and add to the increasing inefficiency within the government bureaucracy and, consequently, and the policy-making level.

> You have been administering us, without asking us anything about it. Only 1% of the total public funds set aside for Indian education was spent with the direct participation of the education committees in the Indain communities. There's no point in saying, as so many government spokesmen have already said, that $300 million is being spent each year for Indian education by Canadian taxpayers ... (Manual undated: 3)

Summary

This chapter has provided a discussion of the basic premises of the group ideology pertaining to Native education in Canada. The basic premises of this group ideology are:

1) A paternalistic approach towards Indian people
2) The "integration", or "assimilation" of Native peoples into mainstream Canadian society
3) An administrative/bureaucratic approach to Indian needs

Paternalism is a situation in which the federal government relates to Native people as a father relates to his children. It is an economic-historic concept which assumes that Indians are inferior people who cannot fully manage their own affairs. It was pointed out that the reality upon which this premise rests is being eroded, primarily through the awareness and actions of Native peoples and Native organizations. While concessions are made to satisfy the demands place upon the system, the basic values, or premises, still appear to be operating in government documents.

These circumstances also hold true for the premise of integration, which maintains that the ultimate solution to "Indian problems" rest with the amalgamation of non-Indian societies. It seems to be felt by those holding the group ideology in question that if the situation is defined as "integrated", economic and social disparities will no longer exist. The Native response has indicated how self-deluding this idea is.

> Integration and equality will occur when there is no longer any dilemma between retaining our status as Indian people and becoming part of Canadian society. The Indian peoples want to enjoy the same rights and recognition as the 'two founding races' now enjoy in our land. (Manual undated: 3)

The premise of the bureaucratic approach is slightly more nebulous that the first two; it is also slightly more difficult to grasp, and has very profound effects upon the group ideology. This premise brings a well established way of thinking and acting into the relations between Native and Canadian society. The fundamental characteristics of this way of thinking and acting, known as a bureaucracy or bureaucratic situation, were outlined in order to indicate the confines this method of operation places upon Indian affairs. By way of discussion of the components of this premise -- the generalization of Indians, mechanical manipulation of elements within the system, utilization of a North American model of education, and the acceptance of a quantitative approach to Indian education -- it was indicated that an all pervasive result of the bureaucratic premise in action was the severe restriction of constructive, self-evaluative thinking and approaches by government bureaucrats. This premise is the most conservative (in the sense of conservation of the system) premise of the three, and is, consequently, a significant drag upon the change or replacement of the group ideolgoy in operation. A bureaucracy absorbes and discourages its critics by its very nature. Further it disperses opposition by generating actions so out of line with reality that Indian people are continually being forced into a reactive position. The isolation of the bureaucrat intensifies this situation.

> The problem with departmental advisors, as we have known them so far, is that they work according to a preconceived formula established in Ottawa without the involvement of the local Indian community. Most of what finally comes out of that budget-making process is really determined before the advisor ever arrives on the reserve. Apart from the band administrator, the chief, and a few councillors, the people never become involved because the process that had been set up had made no room for them. (Manual 1974: 247-48)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Summary

This thesis has attempted to look at Indian education from a different perspective. That perspective was based upon the theoretical discussion of group ideologies. It was proposed that the nature and development of Indian educational policy could be examined through the analysis of the group ideology held by those involved in creating and administering education programs for Native people. The assumption was that government policy was a reflection of the group ideology, and could, therefore, be used as a basis for analysis of the group ideology. With this analysis in hand it was then felt that statements about the implications of Native education policy and the directions education programs could take could then be made.

Before making any concluding remarks about implications and directions, it might be helpful to review the development of the argument by summarizing the content of each chapter.

Chapter II (Theoretical Considerations: The Nature of Group Ideology and Its Relation to Policy Formation) defined and discussed group ideologies and their relation to policy. That chapter postulated that the premises underlying policy pertaining to Native education could be derived from an analysis of government documents. It was further postulated that the premises uncovered represent the operation of a group ideology.

A group ideology was defined as an internally consistent, self-sufficient way of viewing the world by specific groups of people in a society, and the following characteristics of a group ideology were identified and discussed:

1) Group ideologies arise from the social, economic, and historical context of the thinkers.
2) Group ideologies are abstractions from the external socio-economic and political conditions operant in a society at a given time. These conditions are viewed as the reality of the society at that time.
3) Group ideologies adjust to external changes without altering their basic premises for as long as possible. When the premises themselves become increasingly disjointed in relation to the surrounding reality, the group ideology is on the road to replacement by another group ideology, or ideologies.
4) Group ideologies both affect reality and are affected by it.
5) The underlying premises of a group ideology are rarely examined by its holders.
6) Group ideologies are tautological.
7) Group ideologies are ultimately replaced by other group ideologies.

With these theoretical points in mind, Chapter III (The Historical Period) began a discussion of the development of the socio-economic and political conditions from which the group ideology of Native education developes. Three major points were made: 1) economic forces and group ideologies evolve together 2) once the economic forces stabilize, the group ideology and policy will similarly stabilize. With ideological stabilization begins the process of policy "shifts", or adjustments in policy which make it more compatible with the socio-economic and political reality. 3) the outstanding trend in Indian-White relations is a movement away from economic equality between the two societies, and a movement toward reduced Indian productivity and participation. That is, Native peoples lost power in relation to European society.

Chapter IV (The Contemporary Period) outlined the socio-economic and political conditions operating today; these are the conditions from which the current group ideology of Indian education derives. The Chapter emphasizes the social, economic, and power gap between those who make and administer policy and the Indian people. As well, Chapter IV discussed the rise of an Indian movement in Canada, in the context of a force to challenge that socio-economic power gap. It is indicated that the factor most likely to alter relations between Indian and non-Indian society, and, therefore, Indian education policy, is that Indian movement.

The actual premises of the group ideology of Native education were discussed in Chapter V (Educational Ideology). These underlying assumptions of the group ideology were derived by a review of federal documents dealing with Indians and Indian education. Consistently reappearing themes, ideas, topics, and attitudes were pulled out and codified into a system of premises, reflecting the official view (the group ideology) of the nature of Indians, "Indian problems", and Native educational needs. The chapter did not present a straight content analysis of federal documents, but attempted to get at the basic assumptions, or premises, which are contained within the documents.

The premises which emerged through this process are

1) A paternalistic approach towards Indian people
2) The "integration", or "assimilation" of Native people into mainstream Canadian society
3) An administrative/bureaucratic approach to Indian needs.

The components of these premises were discussed, and points at which stress is appearing were noted. The Chapter concluded that because the reality and the group ideology were becoming increasingly disjointed in their articulation, due to pressures being brought to bear upon the system, the group ideology was struggling to adjust externally to meet these forces, while maintaining the premises intact.

Group Ideologies and Indian Education Policy

With the above review in mind, how does the group ideology of Indian education relate to the theoretical statements about group ideologies? In this section each of the identified characteristics of group ideologies will be discssed in connection with the premises of Indian education policy. It is hoped that it will become evident that there is, indeed, a group ideology in operation in the area of Indian education.

Group Ideologies Arise from the Social, Economic, and Historical Context of the Thinkers

The context, content, form, approach, and categories of thought are related to a particular social situation. That social situation is based upon other social, economic, and political forces which are developmental in nature. Similarly, Indian policy, generally, was developed along with the economic and political relationship between Indian and non-Indian society. As that relationship progressed from one of equality to one of subordination and dominance, so did Indian policy move from a policy of sovereign nations to one of paternalism and control. This policy, in its turn, reflected the development of a group ideology pertaining to Indian peoples and their education.

The culmination of these socio-economic forces can be seen in contemporary Indian education policy and its associated group ideology.

Those who administer and develop Indian education policy and programs are in a distinctly stronger social and economic position, than the Native peoples for who they, theoretically, work. Given this dominant position of policy-makers and implementers, it is not surprising that the way they think about Native education does not conflict with their socio-economic position in Canadian society. That is, questions which might challenge that dominate-subordinate relationship are seldom asked; values antagonistic to the socio-economic reality are not held; and actions contrary to their interests do not occur. The premises of this group ideology reinterpret this socio-economic reality, being paternalistic and bureaucratic, as well as in efforts to limit governmental responsibility for Native education.

Group Ideologies are Abstractions from the Socio-economic Reality

A group ideology is an abstraction, or partial reality, based upon the specific reality obtaining. This process is based upon the experiences and the economic, social, and political position of the group within the society. A group ideology is, consequently, a perspectivist understanding of reality.

As was noted above the group ideology of Native education is perspectivist in that it fits with the socio-economic position of those who hold it. Those who maintain the ideology would like to see it remain the dominate ideology within Canada, but are beginning to meet opposition from the development of a rival group ideology pertaining to Indian education. That group ideology is held by the Native people, who are seeking to force their ideology upon the government.

Group Ideologies Adjust to External Changes without Altering their Basic Premises for as Long as Possible

The reality which serves as the basis of the group ideology is in flux. In contrast, group ideologies themselves are static. In order to maintain this fundamental quality, the group ideology must be constructed such as to allow accomodation with the external reality. Hence, group ideologies are perfectable -- internally rigid, but externally flexible.

The group ideology of Indian education maintains three basic premises as discussed above. It is holding to these premises in the face of increasing opposition from another group ideology, that of the Indian peoples. Native organizations are working to change the basic inequality of socio-economic positons between themselves and policy-makers. Such change in the reality supporting the group ideology of policy-makers would lead to an increasing incongruity between the group ideology and the reality. At present changes such as these are only in the beginning phases. Indian peoples are working to increase their political power base in their efforts to both change their reality and the government policy towards them. At this point the group ideology of the government is under stress, but can continue to maintain its position as the dominate ideology with no change in the basic premises of the group ideology. Accomodation is being made in areas such as Native administration of programs or funds, but the fundamental assumptions remain in place.

> ... the government has obviously not yet reached the place where it is prepared to transfer control of Indian education to the Indian people on terms and conditions that are resonable and acceptable to Indian Bands. (All Chief's Conference 1973: 17).

Group Ideologies both Affect Reality and are Affected by it

This statement implies that the relationship between a group ideology and its specific reality is not just one way, with the reality totally determining the ideology. An ideology can, through action based upon it, alter the reality which originally generated it. This characteristic is well illustrated by the interaction between the group ideology of the government and the reality of Indian peoples. The paternalistic attitude of government policy-makers and officials has not only taken away the opportunity for Native peoples to make decisions basic to their lives and education, but has often taken away the ability to do so. It is only recently that Indian people have begun to reject this altered reality and to regain their self-confidence and skills. This Indian initiated process has an effect upon reality, in turn, since it is placing stress upon the group ideology of the government and forcing concessions from it.

The Underlying Premises of a Group Ideology are Rarely Examined by Its Holders

Those who hold a group ideology seldom, if ever, examine the underlying assumptions of their thought system. The ideology tends to be unthinkingly transmitted and accepted.

This situation is particularly true with the group ideology of Indian education. Not only does this hold as a general rule, but the premises, themselves, serve to perpetuate unthinking transmission of the group ideology. Indian education policy is formulated and administered through the filter of a bureaucracy. Bureaucracies, as discussed in Chapter V (Educational Ideology) strive to maintain themselves. Bureaucracies form rules, and seek to establish predictability of behavior of members. Something outside of the bureaucracy's established format and values simply does not fit within the system, and, wherever possible, will not be incorporated into the bureaucratic structure. Certainly, questioning the basic assumptions of the bureaucratic is disruptive and not encouraged; unpredictability might result, thereby, threatening the life of the bureaucracy.

Added to this situation is the perspectivist nature of a group ideology which was noted above. Self-interest and preservation seldom lead to the restructuring of a thought system and reality which support the well being of the holder of the group ideology. Once committed to a group ideology, it is difficult to end that committment or to evaluate it. This is the dilemma of the holders of the group ideology of Native education discussed here.

Group Ideologies are Tautological

Because premises are rarely examined, and because of the interrelation between reality and ideology, group ideologies become tautological. They are tautological in that an action based upon the premises of the ideology is rationalized or understood in terms of those same premises, and, in turn, reoccurrence of the action is used to rationalize the premises of the ideology. As group ideologies and reality interact and alter one another, so the rationalization for such action circles itself. Tautological analysis appears strongly where paternalism operates, as illustrated by the assumption that Indians are inferior beings who are incapable of taking care of themselves; if Native people are incapable of handling their own affairs, they must be handled for them; when decision-making is removed from a group of people they can cease to cope fully with it when is is returned to them; failure at decision-making then reinforces the necessity of government involvement ... and on the cycle goes with premise supporting action, supporting premise, supporting action.

Group Ideologies are Ultimately Replaced by Other Group Ideologies

The ultimate fate of all group ideologies is replacement by another group ideology, because no socio-economic situation can be stabilized permanently. This statement means that the group ideology of Indian education under discussion is so fated. The question remains: How long will this particular group ideology exist? There is, of course, no specific answer, but the data indicates that the process of replacement has begun, with Native organizations becoming increasingly militant and consistent in their demands for change.

Implications and Conclusions

What does the foregoing mean to Indian people and their children's education? It is clear that the government is thinking of Indian education from a consistent basis, and that that basis is becoming increasingly inconsistent in relation to the reality around it. It is also clear that government offcials are not going to alter their premises unless forced to do so, in spite of the slippage between fact and ideology. The issue then becomes one of power.

The historical material has indicated that the political power of Native peoples has been marginal, if non-existant for generations. When speaking of political power Manual stated that

> Nothing came of any of those promises (from politicians), not because these men were insincere, but because Indian people have never had the political power to establish our claims as a priority that demands attention and consideration. (Manual 1974: 238)

Yet for change in the group ideology to occur political power must be developed.[1]

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[1] It should be noted that the potential for a revolution -- in the sense of a total change in the social, economic, and political order -- in Canada is not likely to occur in the foreseeable future. Native leaders are, therefore, focusing attention on the acquisition of political and economic power. Change, thusly, becomes

> We know that no Canadian government will ever deal fairly with the Indian peoples until we can negotiate from a position of strength. (Manual 1974: 221)

Not only does a change in the group ideology of Native education lie in political power, so does economic power and social equality, and to complicate the situation even further political power lies in economic power. (Neumann 1968: 45). This statement means that the integration so urgently desired by the government is not actually possible, in other than a guise of assimilation, without social, economic, and political change in the lives of Indian peoples.

> We ... know that the kind of integration based on mutual respect, and acceptance of each other's values as valid for the other, will never happen until Indian people achieve the same standard of living as that enjoyed by city-dwelling, middle-class white Canadians. (Manual 1974: 221)

It is significant to note in passing that a form of political power has been attained by the Maori people of New Zealand, and with it a better standard of living

> With the possible exception of the Lapps in Sweden, the Maoris have achieved a better material standard of living, by their country's standard, and a better relationship with their European neighbours than any other aboriginal people ... Perhaps the main reason why the Maori people have maintained a reasonable relationship with the New Zealand government is that for over one hundred years they have elected four Maori members of Parliament. The country is divided into eighty-two ridings for European voters. The same country is divided into four ridings for Maori voters. (Manual 1974: 237)

If pressure exerted from outside the government system is necessary to begin crumbling the group ideology of Indian education and its associated social, economic, and political reality, how is this to be done? As was stated earlier, going on the assumption that massive

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piecemeal and gradual. The assumption by Native leaders is that such change is superior to no change and/or a regression.

socio-economic change will not be occurring in Canadian society, the only significant force today is that provided by the Native organizations across the country. These organizations have been active and have managed to place stress upon the group ideology at its premises level. Resulting change, nonetheless, has not lead to an alteration of those premises, but has located itself at at derivative level. The basic ideological change has not taken place to date is not reason to assume that Native organizations do not have the potential to do so in the future. Much progress has been made even though the difficulties of organization have been great.

> ... it is noted that far greater developments have taken place in Indian education under the more restrictive terms of the 1951 Act than were achieved under the greater opportunities written into preceding Acts. (Daniels 1973: 271)

In order for Indians to participate in the decision-making over their lives and education, they must acquire power to generate political and economic pressures, and the most likely vehicles are, once more, Indian organizations.

It appears that the goals of Native organizations within Canada are in harmony with the thesis presented here that educational policy and actions will only change with a basic change in the premises of the system of thought, and that that change much be forced by those not holding the group ideology. Effective power to force change derives from economic and political power.

At the most fundamental level Indian organizations wish to expand their economic options and improve the quality of their lifestyles.

> If the Indian peoples in Canda are to win the next war on poverty, we must define the philosophy, the objectives, and the broad terms of reference of a development program that is both social and economic, on a local and regional basis. (Manual 1974: 247)

This kind of change is basic to successful change at other levels, although the processes involved may, and should, overlap with and feedback into these other forms of change. For example, basic economic change will generate change withing the educational systems or both Indian and non-Indian children.

To achieve this fundamental economic change, Indian organizations are striving to gain control of the economic and social development and institutions within their communities, and to guarantee legal and constitutional guarantees for their chosen lifestyles. The issue is local control. (Manual 1974: 217 & 221). In terms of education, specifically, the position is that any Indian communities that wish to control their own education should have the opportunity to do so. In its position paper Indian Control of Indian Education presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs in 1973, the National Indian Brotherhood stated that Indian people seek to "reclaim our right to direct the education of our children" through the two educational principles recognized in Canadian society; parental responsibility and local control of education. (N.I.B. 1973: 2).

With such goals in mind and at work, it is possible that the underlying premises of the group ideology of Indian education can be eroded and replaced by a group ideology more in keeping with the changing reality of Native people. It is important to reemphasize that although change is taking place the group ideology remains intact.

> In all meetings at which I had been present, I had heard nothing that demonstrated a willingness on the part of the government to condider an approach that was significantly new and different from what we had seen so far. This feeling was confirmed when we appeared before the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs on March 9, 1973. (Manual 1974: 225)

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APPENDIX A

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY-MAKERS

If group ideologies are interrelated with the socio-economic environment of the thinkers, what then are the implications of this thesis for policy-makers and policy? The implications affect policy and policy formulation in four basic ways:

1. Pressure is being exerted upon policy and policy-makers for change
2. The changing reality requires an examination of premises
3. Policy is Undergoing Reinterpretation in the Field
4. Policy formulation requires locally derived data

Pressure Is Being Exerted Upon Policy and Policy-Makers for Change

Native organizations are applying increasing amounts of pressure towards the rethinking of Indian education policy, and federal Indian policy generally is undergoing scrutiny as never before. It is no longer possible for policy to be developed and implemented in a vacuum. This statement means that old policy, as expressed for example in the Indian Act, is being questioned, and the processes in operation and the policy currently being developed are, likewise, objects of intensified evaluation.

Such pressure for change indicates that policy-makers must not expect Indian education policy to remain static. Change is inevitable, and an important factor in the determination of the amount and nature of change is the response of policy-makers.

The Changing Reality Requires an Examination of Premises

To maintain in the face of outside pressure and exposure of activities, policy-makers should examine the premises of their group ideology. This kind of evaluation could make the imminent ideological shift (or replacement) smoother. One benefit to policy-makers of a smooth ideological shift could be a less dramatic personnel change, and, therefore, less individual hardship at the civil servant policy-making level.

An examination of premises could, as well, lead to more effective and meaningful policy formulation on the part of present policy-makers. If policy-makers understand their own preconceptions, policy development could be more in line with the contemporary socio-economic realities, and could, resultantly, begin to meet the educational needs of Native peoples.

Policy Is Undergoing Reinterpretation in the Field

As noted in this thesis, that part of a bureaucracy most susceptible to change is the periphery. In terms of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, this means that those staff who deal most directly with Indian people will be put in a position of having to meet the rising demands of their clients as well as those of their superiors. Indian people are beginning to make increasing demands upon the civil servants with whom they deal, and these demands are reflected in the shift in emphasis of educational policy as it is applied in practice. Those who create policy would be well advised to keep this fact in mind when considering policy development.

Policy Formulation Requires Locally Derived Data

To satisfy and thereby reduce the pressure of Native organizations upon federal policy-makers, those policy-makers could increase the amount of locally derived data that is utilized in policy development and implementation. When people are involved in the decisions which affect them, they become far more committed to those decisions.

With locally derived data, needs assessment is more accurate, and the resultant policy is more likely to meet real needs. Local input (and control) can become an agreeable condition to both policy-makers and Indian people. This is not to argue that Native people should be manipulated for the benefit of policy-makers, but to say that policy-makers should become increasingly aware of the environment in which they work and in which Indian people live, if their policy and position is to continue. Policy-makers are now in a difficult position as legitimate pressure is being brought to bear upon their group ideology. Flexibility and creativity can make the work of policy-makers far easier and productive in the future.